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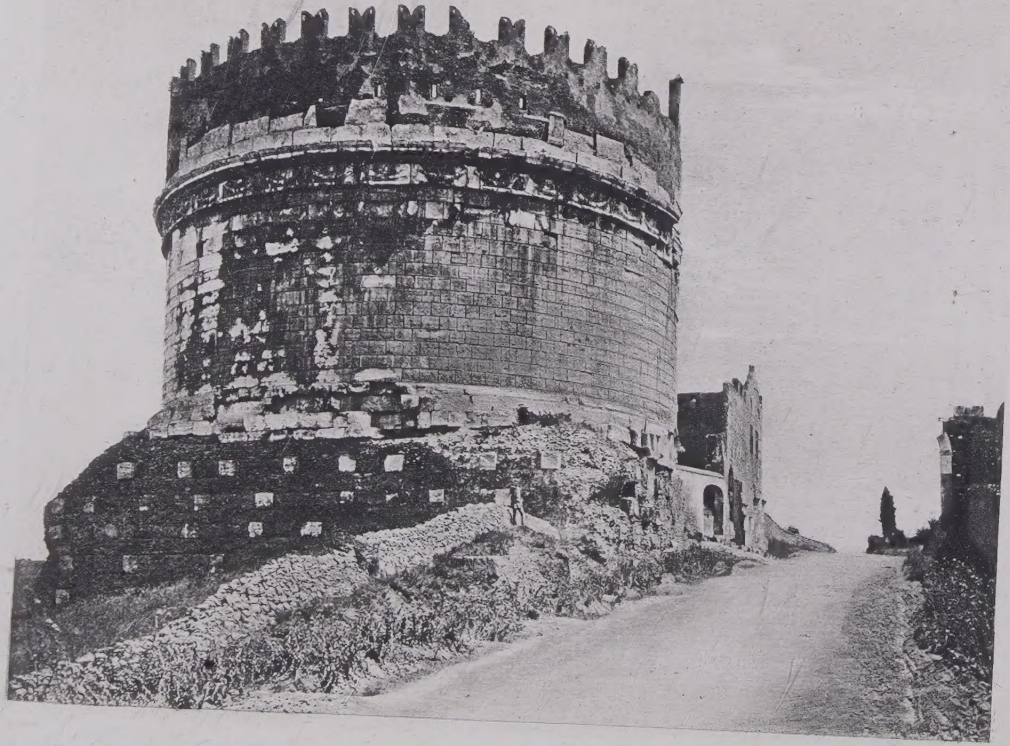

Rome

THE ETERNAL CITY

Its Religions, Monuments, Literature, and Art

By

CLARA ERSKINE CLEMENT

Author of "Legendary and Mythological Art," "Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and Their Works," "The Queen of the Adriatic," "Naples, the City of Parthenope," "Constantinople, the City of the Sultans," etc.

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Volume II

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CHAPTER X.

TRIUMPHAL ARCHES AND HONORARY COLUMNS.

THE magnificent triumphal arches of Rome, known by the names of certain emperors, have stood through many centuries, imposing witnesses to the prowess and glory of these rulers, while at the same time they so commemorated the triumphs of the Roman arms that the renown of these glorious achievements was constantly in the minds of succeeding generations, exciting in them a national pride in the past and an ambition to rival the illustrious deeds of their ancestors.

At least thirty-eight of these important monuments were erected; many of them were standing at one and the same period, affording an admirable illustration of Roman architecture from a very early date to the latest years of Imperial Rome; in a certain sense, a record in marble and stone of the Republic and the Empire.

BATTERING-RAM USED BY HAND. FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN.

L. Stertinius, in 196 B. C., erected the first two triumphal arches of which we have knowledge, out of the treasure which he brought from Spain. One of these stood in the Forum Boarium, the other in the Circus Maximus; and Livy describes them as being surmounted by gilt statues, and adds

that L. Stertinius deposited in the public treasury fifty thousand pounds' weight of silver, all taken by him in Spain.

Six years later an arch in honour of Scipio Africanus was erected on the road leading to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was surmounted by seven statues and two horses in gilt bronze. This, like many others, has totally disappeared.

The first arch erected in the Forum Romanum was in honour of Quintus Fabius Maximus, and was dedicated in 121 B. C., in commemoration of his victories over the Gauls. This arch, spoken of by Horace, marked the southeast extremity of the Forum and spanned the Via Sacra. The remaining fragments of this monument, as I have mentioned in describing the Forum, lie near the Temple of Faustina, and consist chiefly in massive *voussoirs*, or the stones from the span of the arch. On account of his prowess in his war against the Allobroges, Fabius was given the honorary title of *Allobrogicus*, or Allobrox. He is also mentioned in history as being the first Roman who possessed silver plate to the value of five thousand dollars.

Of the Arch of Augustus, erected in 30 B. C., after the victory at Actium, nothing remains save a part of the foundations, discovered in 1882, which show that it was a triple arch, the central opening being fourteen feet wide. This arch was destroyed by the civilised Vandals of the middle of the sixteenth century; and in our walks in Rome we doubtless admire portions of it in some Renaissance edifice without being aware of what we are approving. The Arch of Fabius was ruined by the same destroyers.

The Arch of Tiberius, erected in 17 A. D., is said by Tacitus to have commemorated the success of Germanicus in recovering the Roman standards which had been lost in Germany by Varus. The historian places it on the slope of the Clivus Capitolinus; and as it was quickly constructed and dedicated — in one year — it could not have been very

fine or elaborate. Another arch of Tiberius was erected by Claudius near the Theatre of Pompey; and it is also said that Tiberius dedicated arches to both Germanicus and Drusus in the Forum of Augustus. There are fragments in Rome attributed to the Arch of Tiberius, but Mommsen expresses doubt of their genuineness.

The Arch of Claudius which commemorated his so-called victories in Britain was erected in 43 A. D., and remained until the seventeenth century in excellent condition, when it was destroyed by Alexander VII. This arch spanned the Via Lata, — now the Corso, — and its foundations were discovered about fifteen years ago. In the Villa Borghese are two noble reliefs from this arch, which are, however, badly damaged.

The Arch of Nero, erected in honour of the victory over the Parthians, is only known from the representations of it on coins. Its position on the Capitoline Hill, between the two peaks, was most honourable. From its representations it appears to have been a single arch, very richly decorated with both statues and reliefs. It was surmounted by a triumphal chariot with statues of Victory and Abundance beside it; smaller statues were placed on the corner projections of the entablature, while in a niche on the end stood a colossal statue of Mars. The sides and top of the archway were elaborately decorated with reliefs, and handsome columns supported each corner. The *First Brass* of Nero is an unusually interesting coin, and displays all the features of this arch as perfectly as a large drawing could do.

Perhaps the Arch of Titus is more interesting than any other in Rome, on account of the associations with it. Domitian erected it in honour of the conquest of Jerusalem, and of the Emperors Vespasian and Titus. The central part of the arch as it stands to-day is a portion of the original monument, and is eighteen hundred and fifteen years old. The sides belong to its restoration in 1823; and the differ-

ence between the colour of the new portions and that of the ancient Pentelic marble is plainly discernible.

The composite capitals on the engaged columns of this arch are the earliest examples of this style. Two most interesting reliefs on the inner jambs of the arch represent the grand triumphal procession of Titus, which I have described in connection with pagan temples. Titus is represented in his chariot, the horses being led by the goddess Roma, while Victory holds a crown above his head; he is surrounded by lictors, and the procession is passing under a triumphal arch. But the most famous portion of this monument is the opposite relief, in which the spoils of the Temple of Solomon are represented, — the table for the shew-bread, the seven-branched candlestick, and the golden trumpets. On this panel are two lovely female heads, crowned with laurel and executed in low relief. From the candlestick this monument has frequently been called the "Arch of the Seven Lamps." On the soffit of the arch the apotheosis of Titus is represented in the usual way, the Emperor ascending, borne by an eagle. The external frieze has representations of sacrificial scenes, while in various spaces winged Victories, bearing trophies, and reliefs of the goddesses Roma and Fortuna are seen.

The Arch of Titus is of great interest in connection with the Jews in Rome. The horror and grief of this nation excited by the conduct of Titus still survives; and no Jew, true to the religion and traditions of his race, will pass beneath this fatal arch. Many Jews who marched in chains in the triumph of their conquerors were forced to labour on the Colosseum, and even to lay the foundation-stones of this very arch, which, through all the centuries, has emphasised the fame of the hated Titus.

Vespasian compelled all Jews to pay as much into the Roman treasury as they had given to the Temple, — half a shekel each, — and Domitian drove them out beyond the

precincts of Rome, where they endured a miserable existence until Alexander Severus permitted them to return to their old quarters, — the Ghetto, recently destroyed.

When the Popes came to be supreme in Rome, they exacted certain observances which were most humiliating to the Jews, especially upon the occasion of the installation of a Pope. On these festivals a deputation of this despised race met the Pope in his triumphal progress, sang songs in his praise, and presented him with a magnificent copy of the Pentateuch, bound in gold, which they offered on their knees, beseeching protection for themselves and their people. His Holiness read a few sentences from the book and replied to their prayers in words like these: "We affirm the law; but we curse the Hebrew people and their exposition of it; for he of whom you said 'he will come,' has already come, our Lord Jesus Christ, as is taught and professed by the Church."

LEGIONARY BEARING THE IMAGE. FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN.

This particular ceremony was abandoned by Adrian, but, in place of this homage, the Jews were obliged to cover a portion of the way over which the procession passed with

rich and costly stuffs. They adorned the steps of the Capitol and the Arch of Septimius Severus when Gregory XIV. was installed; but later they were sentenced to adorn the Arch of Titus on these occasions, as well as the road leading from it to the Colosseum. The late William Wetmore Story thus describes these decorations: —

"These tapestries and hangings bore, upon a gold ground, embroidered emblems designated by the Pope, with Latin texts taken from the Old and New Testaments. The emblems, generally twenty-five in number, and expressive of every sort of fantastic allegory, were woven by the Jews themselves in their dirty Ghetto, and doubtless had hatred and indignation enough wrought into their texture to give a *jettatura* to the Pope who passed over and under them. In course of time these scriptural allegories became confused with pagan devices. The Old Testament and Roman mythology intermarried and gave birth to designs absurd in sentiment and *barocco* in style, — Apollo, Moses, Minerva, the Virgin, Popes, donkeys, and heraldic animals, grouping amicably together, to illustrate texts from the Bible. . . . Some of these very tapestries, I doubt not, might even now be raked out of hidden chambers in the Ghetto, if any one had the will to purchase them."

In the beginning of this present century, Pius VII. changed the offering of the Jews, to be made to a new Pope, from the decorations of the Arch of Titus to a book adorned with emblems exquisitely painted, dedicated to the Pope in Latin verses, and bound in a very costly style. The book of Gregory XVI. may now be seen in the Cathedral of Belluno, the birthplace of the Pope; it was also painted by a native of Belluno, Pietro Paoletti. The book presented to Pius IX. was very beautiful in design and execution, and cost about five hundred and fifteen dollars.

The Arch of Marcus Aurelius, which was destroyed in 1563, was erected in the Via Flaminia, now the Corso. Six sculptured panels taken from it are on the walls of the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; while still another

JUPITER CAUSING RAIN TO FALL ON THE ROMAN ARMY.
FROM THE ANTONINE COLUMN.

belongs to the family of the banker, Prince Torlonia. They are most interesting, not only as examples of the art of their era, but for their architectural backgrounds and the typographical information which they afford; as, for example, that in which the Emperor offers a sacrifice before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which the temple is admirably shown.

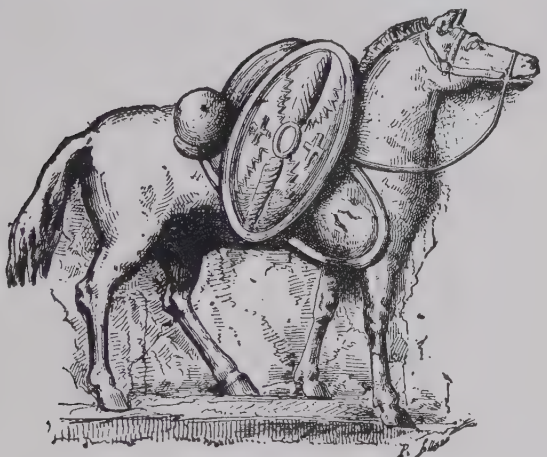
Although the reign of Septimius Severus, beginning in 193 A. D., distinctly marks the period of the rapid decline of art, it was a time of great activity in building and the construction of public works. During the reign of the two Africans, Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla, — a period of twenty-four years, — not only an enormous amount of reconstruction of the old was accomplished, on every stone of which they apparently affixed their names, but two characteristic monuments, quite their own, perpetuate their fame and afford them the remembrance which they coveted. The Arch of Severus and the Baths of Caracalla have each proved more enduring than the last palace built on the Palatine with its aspiring Septizonium, already described.

When Severus had been Emperor nine years, he erected his huge triumphal arch to the glory of himself and his sons, Caracalla and Geta. It was intended to commemorate his Parthian victories, and its inartistic sculptures represent scenes connected with these Eastern wars. This arch has three openings, the central one being much more lofty than the others.

The attic was originally surmounted by a bronze chariot drawn by six horses, in which stood a statue of Severus being crowned by Victory, while statues of his sons were placed beside the chariot, and an equestrian statue decorated each angle. All these have long since perished.

The four principal reliefs, although most insignificant as works of art, are interesting for their representations of

Eastern warfare. They are overcrowded with figures, and instead of being separated and framed with mouldings, they are crowded against the columns and under the entablature, while the capitals and, indeed, the whole work is in a singularly debased style. The long inscription on the large panel of the attic is repeated on both sides and is most flattering



PACK-HORSE CARRYING SHIELDS. FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN.

to Severus and Caracalla, who gave himself additional titles to fill in the spaces which had been previously devoted to his brother Geta.

One relic of the work of Severus is far more interesting than his arch, — the marble plan of Rome, now affixed to the wall of the staircase in the Capitoline Museum. One must regret that it is not placed where it could be more conveniently studied. The original plan, made by Vespasian, was partly or wholly destroyed by fire, and was restored by Severus; but, as some portions now remaining are much better executed than others, there is a possibility that these are from the original model of Vespasian. The existing

remnants were found at the foot of the wall to which it had been affixed, and the iron clamps which held it are still in place, so that the manner of its arrangement can be perfectly understood.

The marble slabs on which the plan was engraved averaged five feet in height by three and a half in width, and were in nine rows. Many of the fragments of these slabs were found in 1560, and were fortunately copied, as portions of them were afterwards lost; and when, in later excavations, other portions of the plan were discovered, by reproducing in marble, from the copies, the parts that were missing, it was possible to reconstruct it, as it is now seen. There are more than three hundred fragments, varying from tiny bits to those which are from two to three feet in size, at least. The work is not very fine, and the letters not well made; but it is filled in with vermilion, and even the smallest parts are clear. If it were in a better position for study, its worth would be much increased; but it of course fixes certain points which could not otherwise be determined, and is most valuable in connection with the study of Roman topography. It is a curious fact that plans of this sort should have been made from the time of Agrippa, the century before the Christian era; and the principal methods followed in making them in those ancient days differed but slightly from those of much more recent date. The ancient wall on which this plan was fixed is now included in the church of SS. Cosma and Damian.

At the corner of the Via in Miranda, where there is a quadrangle with little work-shops and sheds, and a garden, — an humble but attractive scene, — this ancient wall makes one side of the enclosed space. Pope Felix IV. made it of use in his monastery; and though windows have been cut through it in several stories, which, with their little curtains and window-gardens, make it to resemble many other walls, — not only in Rome, but in other cities, — it is still the

roiginal wall that was once decorated with the marble plan of Septimius Severus.

Another so-called Arch of Severus, in the Forum Boarium, is, in fact, a much-decorated gateway which led from the forum into the Velabrum. Besides certain conventional rosettes and ornaments of that sort, it has reliefs; and from one of them, which originally represented Caracalla and Geta offering a sacrifice, the figure of Geta has been cut away, as his name has been from the inscription. There is another relief with a portrait of Severus, one with soldiers conducting Oriental prisoners, and several small representations of sacrifices, all in the debased manner in which the sculptures of Severus were executed. After his accession no meritorious sculpture was produced in Rome, and the rapidity of the decline seems inexplicable when we remember the exquisite work of the time of Hadrian, only a little more than half a century earlier.

This gateway was erected by the silversmiths or bankers

and merchants of the Forum Boarium, in 204 A. D., in honour of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, his wife, and his sons, Caracalla and Geta.

The Arch of Constantine, completed about 315 A. D., to commemorate the victory over Maxentius at the Pons Milvius in 312, is the most perfect triumphal arch remaining in Rome, and is, for many reasons, of extreme interest. It is probably copied from the Arch of Trajan in the general design and proportion, which are unusually fine. The original sculptures, belonging to the fourth century, are coarse and unworthy of their position in every respect, bearing witness as they do to the degraded condition of all art in Rome at the date when they were made.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. A part of it may be translated, "as he has reigned ten years, so may he reign twenty." The use of the title "Maximus" proves that his reign had reached the above-named limit, as it occurs on no coin of Constantine's until after his tenth year; and the expression, "by divine inspiration," which replaces the customary reference to Jupiter as "the greatest and best," indicates that the Emperor desired thus publicly to acknowledge his adoption of the new faith. There is a question made by some authors as to whether this inscription has not been changed since originally made; but of this they give no proof.

Clement VIII. removed one of the columns of *giallo antico* to the Lateran at the close of the sixteenth century; but the white marble with which it was replaced has taken on the general colour of the whole, so that the difference in original tone and in variety is not easily distinguished. Clement XII. restored the arch with marbles from the ancient Temple of Neptune, and the heads of the Dacian captives on the architrave — which were at one time knocked off — have been carefully replaced; but these circumstances show that, while the barbarians and the spoilers have shown

unusual respect for this monument, it has suffered its abuses.

There is but one bit of value in the sculptures on this arch belonging to the fourth century, which is a long tablet on the northern side of the arch; on this the Forum Romanum is represented as it existed at that time, and the value of the sculpture is historical rather than artistic. The utter decadence of Roman art is all the more noticeable here by reason of the beauty of the older reliefs, which were taken from the Arch of Trajan, and are placed in close contrast with the later sculptures. The intrinsic merit and beauty of the earlier works and their excellent preservation entitles them to be numbered with the finest examples of Græco-Roman sculpture, although they are as late as the second century of our era, when the decline in art is already apparent.

The sacrificial scenes in the circular medallions are especially beautiful, and were rarely surpassed at any age; and if one can overcome his indignation at the mutilation of the fine frieze, which has been cut into four parts, he will find it well worthy of his attention. It must have been most satisfactory when in its original form. It represents an attack on the Dacians by the Roman cavalry; the figure of the Emperor Trajan is more than once represented; and when this frieze with its continuous subject — all the figures being life-size — was in its proper place, and no doubt in the midst of appropriate surroundings, it was a noble memorial of the prowess of Trajan and his soldiers. It very probably made a portion of the decoration of the Temple of Trajan.

The four medallions on the north side of the arch represent, first, the Emperor and two attendants, all mounted, hunting a boar. Second, Trajan pouring a libation on to an altar before a statue of Apollo, a graceful laurel-tree making the background of the upper portion of the circle; one attendant stands behind the Emperor, and another holds his

horse. This is a difficult subject for the circular space devoted to it, and is most skilfully managed. Third, Trajan and a number of attendants stand beside a lion that has been killed, probably by the Emperor. Fourth, Trajan, in sacrificial dress and veiled head, pours a libation on to an altar; the usual two attendants are near him, as well as a small statue of Minerva, while Jupiter appears in the clouds above him.

On the south side are, first, Trajan, who is about to start for the chase, standing near his horse; among his attendants is a youth whose beauty recalls that of Antinous. Second, Trajan offers a sacrifice before a statue of Hercules. Third, the Emperor and his attendants pursue a bear. Fourth, Trajan pours a libation at an altar, before a statue of Diana, a thank-offering for success in hunting.

A VEXILLARY, FROM ANTONINE COLUMN.

The rectangular reliefs on the attic, on the north side, towards the Colosseum, represent, first, the Emperor received at the gates of the city by a stately figure of the goddess Roma. An arched gateway, decorated with flowers, and a temple are in the background, probably representing the Porta Capena and the Temple of Mars.

The second scene is probably outside the Porta Capena. Trajan is looking down on a half-nude youth reclining on the ground and holding a wheel; near by is a man dressed as a civilian; while on one side are some armed men, one of whom holds a horse. This is a most interesting commemoration of the making of a road over the Pontine marshes in 110 A. D. The reclining youth with the wheel is the usual symbol of a road; the civilian is probably the engineer of the undertaking, perhaps Apollodorus himself.

The third relief is also noteworthy. Trajan is seated on a throne on a lofty platform, and is surrounded by attendants; the Emperor is addressing a group of people who are standing below him. Among them is a woman with a child, and the scene apparently commemorates the establishment, in 99 A. D., of an institution for the benefit of the children of the poor. Such a relief as this, or one in which Trajan raises a kneeling woman who symbolises a province, probably made the foundation of Dante's lines in the tenth canto of the "Purgatory": —

> "There, was storied on a rock
> The exalted glory of the Roman Prince,
> Whose mighty worth moved Gregory to earn
> His mighty conquest, Trajan the Emperor.
> A widow at his bridle stood, attired
> In tears and mourning. Round about them troop'd
> Full throng of knights; and overhead in gold
> The eagles floated, struggling with the wind.
> The wretch appear'd amid all these to say:
> 'Grant vengeance, Sire! for, woe beshrew his heart,
> My son is murder'd.' He replying seem'd:
> 'Wait now till I return.' And she, as one
> Made hasty by her grief: 'O Sire! if thou
> Dost not return?' — 'Where I am, who then is
> May right thee.' — 'What to thee is other's good,
> If thou neglect thy own?' 'Now comfort thee,'
> At length he answers. 'It beseemeth well
> My duty be perform'd, ere I move hence:
> So justice wills, and pity bids me stay.'"

BATTLE.

The fourth scene on this side presents a foreign prince offering his homage to Trajan, who is on his throne, while a number of Roman soldiers, bearing standards and eagles, are behind. This prince is probably the King of Armenia, who was conquered in 115 A. D.

On the south side the first relief again represents Trajan enthroned receiving a barbarian potentate. The second shows the Emperor receiving Decebalus, the Dacian king, and a number of Dacian captives, who are conducted by Roman soldiers. The third scene shows Trajan on a platform addressing the army; and in the fourth, Trajan is about to offer a sacrifice; he is surrounded by soldiers and standard-bearers, while a bull, a ram, and a boar are being led forward toward a tripod altar.

There are few objects remaining in Rome so suggestive of questioning as is the Trajan-Constantine arch, which contributes to the glory of the former, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. Why did Constantine take the rôle of the spoiler before all ages? and why fill it in so poor a fashion?

There are in Rome slight remains of other arches, like those of Gratian and Gallienus, but nothing about them demands or repays a visit. The Arch of Dolabella, as it is called, is, in fact, a gateway, which, as the inscription states, was erected in 10 A. D., but for what reason or purpose, originally, is not known. It is on the Cælian Hill, and the portion of the Claudian aqueduct which Nero built passes over it. It is a plain arch, built of blocks of travertine, and may have opened into that Campus Martialis which was used for games when the Campus Martius was flooded.

Honorary columns were frequently erected in Rome; one of the earliest was that of Mænius, who fixed the bronze beaks to the Rostra in 338 B. C. The column set up in 260 B. C. by C. Duillius, in the Forum near the Rostra, commemorated his victory over the Carthaginians. It was adorned with beaks from captured vessels; and a portion of

DOMINICAN

its base — probably copied from the original — is in the Capitoline Museum. Such columns were frequently erected to commemorate naval victories; two reproductions now stand on the road from the Piazza del Popolo to the Pincian. They are called *columnæ rostratæ*. An honorary column was erected to Julius Cæsar, and one to Antoninus Pius, the pedestal of which is now in the Giardino della Pigna in the Vatican, as already mentioned; but the Column of Trajan, which fortunately has not been destroyed, is the finest example of this style of monument that was erected in Rome.

SOLDIER CARRYING HIS BAGGAGE. FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN.

This column is also called the *Columna cochlis*, from its winding stairs; and from its height of one hundred Roman feet it had a third name, which for the same reason was given to the Column of Marcus Aurelius, both being known as the *Columnæ Centenariæ*. One cannot consider this magnificent column without regretting that Trajan did not see it. He built his forum and went away to prosecute the Parthian War, after which the Senate erected the column as an expression of their pride in him. It was dedicated in 114 A. D.; but the war continued, and in 117 the Emperor died in Cilicia. History relates that the column made his tomb, his ashes being placed beneath it in a golden urn in which they were brought to Rome; but this precious vase was too costly to be spared to posterity, and when search was made for it the chamber was empty.

The pedestal of the column is richly decorated with reliefs of trophies and armour taken from the Dacians, one side of it being devoted to the inscription, engraved on a tablet upheld by two Victories. Above the cornice of the pedestal, on each corner, is an eagle supporting a garland of flowers. Beneath the inscription is the entrance to the staircase, which winds around a central newel, and consists of one hundred and eighty-four steps, all in solid marble; it is lighted by little slits in the column. The base of the shaft represents an enormous wreath of laurel, while its capital is better described as Doric than by any other architectural term, although it is not strictly of that order.

The sculptures on the column ascend in a spiral band and pass twenty-three times around the shaft, which is made of twenty-three courses of large marble blocks. The skill with which the depth of the spiral band is gradually increased from three feet at the bottom to four at the top, in order to give it the appearance of being of equal width for the entire height, is admirable, as well as the manner in which the reliefs are executed; they contain twenty-five hundred and more figures, besides a wealth of accessories finished with infinite care. In truth, if they had been more boldly executed, their effect would have been much greater, and one can but feel that much of the labour lavished on them was in a sense wasted. However, we cannot say what difference was effected by the brilliant colouring and the gold with which they were originally decorated, which must have had an appearance as unusual and striking as that of the gopuras of Madura in the Madras Presidency. I ought here to say that authorities disagree about the colours on these reliefs. While Middleton speaks of them without qualification or doubt, Burn emphatically pronounces it an error to suppose that they were ever coloured. However, it would not have been impossible for colours to be used here for the very purpose of making the designs clearer, somewhat after

the method in which they had been used by the Egyptians many centuries before the erection of Trajan's Column.

The scenes represented in the reliefs were from the Dacian campaigns, which made so large a part of Trajan's fame and glory, — as in the defeat and death of King Decebalus, described by Dion Cassius. The impossibility of studying these reliefs closely makes the casts of the Villa de' Medici of value; whereas those at the South Kensington Museum are so badly placed as to be of small account. Middleton says of these reliefs: "Though wanting in grace and refinement, they are full of dramatic vigour, and form a sort of encyclopædia of Roman costumes, arms, and military engineering, and methods of advance and attack by land and river, in open field, and against walled cities, with the most wonderful fertility of design and careful attention to detail."

The custom of placing statues at such a height as on top of this column was first practised, as it seems, by Romans in the time of the Empire. The Greeks placed statues on columns, but they did not raise them so high that their faces could not be seen. The statue of Trajan was of gilt bronze twenty feet in height, and how or when it disappeared is not known; perhaps it went with other bronzes that the Emperor Constans II. lost to the Saracens; but Genseric had previously spent fourteen days in robbing Rome; who can tell? The statue held a globe in the hand, which is now in the Capitoline Museum. Certainly the original statue had been taken away centuries before Sixtus V. filled its place with the statue of Saint Peter holding the key in his extended hand.

The column has suffered many injuries at the hands of Vandals of one nationality or another; some of them may have been French, who turned the Bourbon guns upon it. In the twelfth century a papal decree forbade its injury on pain of death, and doubtless this did much for its preservation, as until late in the sixteenth century it was quite out-

side the populous part of the city and surrounded with vineyards and farms.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Colonna, which so much resembles that of Trajan that it may be called a copy of it, is in good preservation, with the exception of its lower pedestal; it is the same height as the older column; it has the appearance of being shorter, because the band of sculptures is broader — having life-size figures — and encircles the shaft three times less than the band passes around that of Trajan. The effect of this is to dwarf the Column of Marcus Aurelius in a surprising manner. It affords a striking example of what may be called the chief defect in Greek art; which attained increase in size by adhering to the same plan used in a smaller edifice and enlarging the same number of parts in an exact ratio; producing, as we admit, an harmonious whole. But the mediæval architecture is certainly superior in the multiplying, rather than the magnifying of parts. The addition of the clerestory and triforium is an expedient which imparts far more grandeur to an edifice than is attained by the Greek method.

There was the same internal winding staircase in the later column as in the older, and, in fact, there are many resemblances so exact as to make any especial description of it unnecessary. The reliefs illustrated the four campaigns against the Germans, and are much less artistic in design and execution than are those on the Column of Trajan. This column stood in the centre of a large portico in front of a temple dedicated to Marcus Aurelius, all of which has disappeared, and even upon the pedestal of the column itself the name of another Antonine occupies the place of that of the most attractive and faultless of the whole line of the pagan emperors of Rome. This change was made in the last years of the sixteenth century, when Sixtus V. found it absolutely necessary to restore the base of the column; when the name of Antoninus Pius was cut upon the new

GERMAN FAMILY. FROM ANTONINE COLUMN.

marble, and the statue of Saint Paul was placed upon the summit, where that of Marcus Aurelius originally stood.

It is impossible to speak or write the name of Marcus Aurelius without calling up the picture of this wonderful man, known to us chiefly by his "Meditations." Marcus Aurelius was no exception to the rule that men of strong individuality are ardently admired or vigorously condemned.

Among the authors who are severely critical of this magnificent Roman is Duruy; yet he acknowledges that if, according to the apologists and the doctors of the Church, it was possible for Christians, or men who were Christian in spirit, to exist *before* Jesus Christ, Marcus Aurelius was certainly

such a man, with which opinion it would seem that all must agree. What man who is a Christian can more ardently desire to reach the summit of human perfection? The tablets which he wrote from day to day, and which were simply his communings with his own higher self, — writings which no human eye had read, and which he did not write to be seen of others, — afford us, as we read them in his "Meditations," a clear insight into his spiritual struggles. They reveal to us his questionings and his aims, than which few men have written anything more lofty in aspiration or more far-reaching towards the highest life that mortal can hope to live. His longing to attain to the likeness of the Divine; his rule — made for himself alone — to abstain from the thought of evil; to cherish no revenge and to sacrifice every personal wish and aim to the fulfilment of what he deemed to be his duty, — furnish a model that many a Christian man and woman have earnestly striven to imitate. We may well believe that Marcus Aurelius, pagan though he was, had reached a height from which he had a view of the glorious truths for which the martyrs of his reign were dying. Alas, that between him and them there was a veil that darkened their vision and forbade their seeing that they were all alike hungering and thirsting for righteousness!

VICTORY CROWNING A WARRIOR.

CHAPTER XI.

BRIDGES, AQUEDUCTS, FOUNTAINS, AND VILLAS.

THE early Romans were greater as engineers than as architects; and among their important and most ancient officials were the six *pontifices*, "bridge builders," whose office of building and destroying the bridge over the Tiber was not only politically important, but sacred as well. The origin of this religious office was the ancient belief that the building of a bridge was an act of impiety and an insult to the god of the river, since it robbed him of a certain number of victims, who, without the safety of the bridge, would lose their lives in crossing.

Thus it was the most ancient and important duty of the Roman Pontifex to appease the wrath of Father Tiber by sacrifices, which at first consisted of living human beings, and later of thirty dummies made of straw, which were thrown into the river annually. Sacrifices were also offered when a bridge was repaired, during the primitive ages, and for centuries the religious rites connected with bridges were carefully observed. The most ancient Roman bridge was the *Pons Sublicius*, so called from the *sublicæ*, modern beams, of which it was built, — another feature of the superstitions connected with bridges being that no metal could be used in their construction. The idea seems to have been that Father Tiber might pardon the erection of a bridge that appeared to be temporary, but that a stronger one, and especially if built of stone, would so anger him as to bring some dire calamity on Rome. This tradition was respected even in our era, and

no iron was used in the restoration of this bridge until after the fall of the Roman Empire. Of course this superstition belonged to prehistoric days; and in later times one important reason for rebuilding this bridge in wood is believed to have been in order that it could be cut away to prevent the crossing of an enemy; as had occurred when Horatius, "the one-eyed," had held back the Etruscan army until the bridge could be destroyed. No doubt the thrilling tale of the bravery and prowess of Horatius Cocles had but a slight, if it had any, foundation in truth; but there is a probability that it was recited at the funerals of the Horatii for generations, and it still excites the tribute of admiration and sympathy which every story of self-sacrificing patriotism should arouse; and we can quite imagine that for centuries the picture of Macaulay's verse was a true one: —

HORATIUS COCLES.

"And still his name sounds stirring
Unto the men of Rome,
As the trumpet-blast that cries to them
To charge the Volscian home;
And wives still pray to Juno
For boys with hearts as bold
As his who kept the bridge so well
In the brave days of old."

This bridge was constructed for the purpose of connecting the city with the Servian fortress on the Janiculum. It was for a long period the only bridge across the Tiber; and in later times, when the piers were built of stone, the bridge itself continued to be made of wood, and is spoken of as a wooden bridge even in the time of Augustus. Its site is not positively known; but Middleton gives it as his opinion that

it led from the Forum Boarium not far from the existing circular temple.

After the conquest of Etruria and the defeat of Hannibal had put an end to the fear of an invasion, a stone bridge was constructed and called the *Pons Æmilius*, in honour of its founder; it was many years in course of construction, and was not complete until 142 B. C. It was also known as the *Pons Lapideus*, on account of its being the only stone bridge in Rome for a considerable period.

In 1886, during an excavation on the Tiber embankment, the starting-point of this bridge was exposed; it was rebuilt in the Middle Ages, after a flood, and the existing remains are almost entirely of that date; again, in 1598, a flood did it much injury, and an iron bridge was built across the gap. The modern *Ponte Rotto* was erected on the site of the Pons Æmilius and of the mediæval bridge, of which but a single arch is left, and this stands alone in the middle of the river, a new bridge having been constructed a little lower down.

The island of the Tiber now called that of S. Bartolommeo has long been united to the mainland by two bridges, — the *Pons Fabricius*, which is connected with the left bank of the Tiber, and the *Pons Cestius*, which leads from the island to the Janiculum, or Trastevere quarter. The first of these was built about 60 B. C., and still retains much of its ancient architecture; it has an interesting inscription repeated on each side of the archway, a good part of which is still legible, in spite of its great age.

The Pons Fabricius is built of the material usually seen in Roman bridges, peperino and tufa, faced with massive blocks of travertine on both sides.

The Fabricius has but two arches, semicircular in form; there is an opening for flood-water above the central pier. At the springing of the arches travertine corbels, or projecting stones in the form of a basket, are built in as a support to the wooden centering.

The Romans frequently adopted this device, which was especially useful in making repairs; and, in fact, in the lofty arches of aqueducts, and other constructions where it would have been too expensive or too difficult to support a centering with tall props resting on the ground, these corbels were introduced.

An upright pilaster crowned by a *Janus Quadrifrons*, or four-faced head, still exists; it made a part of the ancient screen or balustrade along the sides of the bridge, and from this head comes the modern name of the bridge, *Ponte dei quattro capi*. The pilasters were grooved to support an open-work bronze screen, which filled the spaces between these columns.

During the Middle Ages the Pons Fabricius was known as the *Pons Judæus*, by reason of its proximity to the quarter of the Jews, and is often mentioned by that name in old writings.

The Pons Cestius, which unites the island of the Tiber to the Janiculum, or Trastevere quarter, was probably built in 40 B. C., and was restored in 370 A. D., as is recorded on one of the slabs of the parapet. This bridge has a single arch, with an opening for flood-water on each side. The bridge is now called by the present name of the island and the church on it, S. Bartolommeo; and on account of the widening of the south branch of the river the bridge was lengthened in 1886.

The *Pons Ælius* was for many reasons the most interesting of Roman bridges. It is now called the *Ponte di S. Angelo*, and is as modern as its name sounds in contrast with that by which it was formerly known. The Pons Ælius was built by Hadrian in 135 A. D., in order to connect his mausoleum with the Campus Martius. When new, it had more arches than now, and led directly to the central entrance to the mausoleum, as is shown in ancient pictures of the castle and bridge. The original name of the bridge,

Ælius, was the prænomen of Hadrian; and it may have been thus named in memory of the son of the Emperor, who died before his father, and was the first to be interred in the royal tomb.

Dante immortalised this bridge by comparing the throngs passing over it, at the time of the jubilee in 1300, with the sinners scourged by demons in the eighth circle of hell. Pope Boniface VIII. ordered a wooden barrier to be put up in the middle of the bridge, and so arranged that all the people on each side should be moving in one direction.

> "E'en thus the Romans, when the year returns
> Of Jubilee, with better speed to rid
> The thronging multitudes, their means devise
> For such as pass the bridge; that on one side
> All front toward the castle and approach
> Saint Peter's fane, on the other towards the mount."

The mount was probably the hill of the Lateran. Originally this bridge had arched gateways at each end, as was customary with Roman bridges; and pictures of the Pons Ælius such as were published by Mariano in 1890, in his very interesting "Castel Sant' Angelo," show these gateways as they existed until mediæval times. The three large arches of the centre are probably a part of the original structure of Hadrian's bridge. During the Middle Ages booths and shops occupied such a proportion of this bridge as to make it so narrow as to be dangerous when crowds were passing, and on the occasion of the jubilee in 1450 a fright, said to have been caused by the restiveness of a cardinal's mule, resulted in the death of two hundred people, by crushing and suffocation. The booths were then removed, and two little circular chapels built by Pope Nicholas V., in which prayers could be offered for those who had died without the proper preparation. These were removed by Clement VII., who erected the statues of Saints Peter and Paul; and in 1668 Clement IX. built a new parapet, and added the Angels of

ROMAN BRIDGE UPON THE OSTIAN ROAD.

the piers, which are not entirely in accord with my notion of what angels should be, even when manufactured by wholesale, as these appear to have been.

It is supposed that the modern *Ponte Sisto* is on the site of the ancient *Pons Aurelius*. In 1878, an inscription was found in the bottom of the river beneath this bridge, which gave an account of its rebuilding about 366 A. D., by L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus, prefect of Rome. There is also a record of its restoration in the time of Hadrian.

The *Pons Neronianus*, or *Vaticanus*, and the *Pons Triumphalis*, as well as the last Roman bridge built by the Emperor Probus about 280 A. D., and named for him, have all disappeared, with the exception of some very slight relics of the foundations of the first that may be discovered at low water, and of the last at the foot of the Aventine.

About a mile and three quarters up the river from the Porta del Popolo, is the bridge now called Ponte Molle, its ancient name being *Pons Molvius*, or *Milvius*. It was built in 109 B. C., and is to-day, as in ancient times, a favourite holiday resort for the lower classes.

This bridge is associated with important historical events: it was held by Pompey's troops against Lepidus; and here Cicero caused the arrest of the Allobroges with whom he had arranged that they should obtain letters from Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, which should prove them to be conspirators. The Allobroges were seized as agreed, having the letters on their persons. Cicero first summoned the conspirators to attend him, and led them to the Senate, where he presented their letters, with the seals unbroken.

The Senate, before breaking up the meeting, decreed a vote of thanks to Cicero, as well as solemn thanksgivings to be offered to the gods for their deliverance from danger through the vigilance of their consul, in the same manner that these ceremonies were observed when victories were won

by the Roman arms. Cicero was the first Roman who obtained this honour not being a soldier.

The historian Eusebius gives a glowing account of the action that took place near the Milvian Bridge when Constantine was advancing upon Rome, and Maxentius foolishly left the protection of the city and its walls and crossed the Tiber to meet the Gallic army. The troops of Maxentius were soon seized with a panic and rushed back to the bridge, which gave way and precipitated all who were on it into the water; Maxentius was one of these, and was soon drowned by the weight of his armour. When Constantine entered Rome in triumph, the head of Maxentius was borne as a trophy behind his chariot, and was afterwards sent to Africa to be exhibited, in accord with a barbaric custom of the time. In his enthusiasm Eusebius likens this experience of Constantine to that of Moses, and recites from the song of the triumphant prophet: —

"Thou didst blow with thy wind and the sea covered them; they sank as lead in the mighty waters.

"And Miriam answered, on the part of the women who followed her with timbrels and dances:

"Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

As one to-day crosses the Ponte Molle, it is something of a tax upon his imagination to revive these historic scenes in the midst of the present surroundings of this bridge; as it is difficult when viewing the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine to reconstruct the splendid edifice which Maxentius was rearing when his rival took from him his empire and his head. Constantine even affixed his own name to the stately pile which might have preserved the name of a ruler who in his reign of six years built the Temple of Romulus and other edifices within the city, as well as the Circus on the Via Appia; which, though stripped of everything that could be taken away, is still of great interest, since its walls and

towers, its *spina* and its goals, though overgrown with grass, can still be traced. On the whole, this is the most perfect example of a circus now existing in Rome.

Until the year 312 B. C., when the first aqueduct was constructed by Appius Claudius Cæcus, called the *Aqua Appia*, the Romans, during four hundred and forty-one years, depended for water on the Tiber, which statement fills us with horror when we further reflect that the drains of the city all emptied their filth into this river. And yet the ancients considered this as most potable water, and in the Middle Ages, after the aqueducts were destroyed, the Romans were again dependent on the river. The physicians of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. celebrate the excellence of this water; and when Clement VII. went to Marseilles in 1553, to attend the marriage of Catherine de' Medici, by the advice of his physician he carried with him a sufficient quantity of the Tiber water to supply him with drinking-water during his absence.

Paul III. followed the same course in his journey to Loretto, Bologna, and Nice.

It is very interesting, however, to observe how, the Aqua Appia having been constructed, other aqueducts were rapidly built until they radiated from Rome in every direction and were among the most splendid monuments of Roman engineering. The Aqua Appia brought water from a spring but seven miles and a half away, and was almost wholly underground, its last few hundred yards only being on low arches just within the Servian Wall. As the Romans well understood that water in a closed pipe would find its own level, their method of conducting it to the upper portions of buildings was very much the same as our own, as is proved by the service-pipes which have been discovered in the excavations at Ostia.

There are few subjects connected with the public works of Rome of which we have so full and exact a knowledge as of

the water-supply, since Vitruvius has written of it, and, above all, Frontinus, who was from 97 to 106 A. D. the general superintendent of the aqueducts, reservoirs, and fountains, both for public and private use, in Rome. Thanks to Commendatore Lanciani, a new edition of the *Comentarii di Frontino* was published in 1890. This gives the general and important information on this subject, while Vitruvius goes more into details.

The *Anio Vetus* was begun in 272 B. C., and completed two years later. It was forty-three miles long, and its channel was carried but a quarter of a mile above-ground. It was built of massive blocks of peperino, and several remnants of the *specus*, or course, of this aqueduct still remain.

These two earliest aqueducts were restored, and a third, the *Aqua Marcia*, built in 144 B. C., by order of the Senate. This was a magnificent undertaking, which cost, according to Frontinus, who quotes from an earlier authority, about eight million seven hundred thousand dollars.

The Marcius who, by order of the Senate, built this aqueduct and for whom it was named, prided himself on being a descendant of the early king, *Ancus Marcius*.

The source of the Marcian water was about thirty-three miles from Rome, and much of its course was subterranean, but the last six miles were laid on massive peperino arches, many of which are still well preserved; by these the water was conducted into Rome at a level high enough to supply the Arx of the Capitoline Hill. Augustus added to the Aqua Marcia a short branch called the *Aqua Augusta*, by which the supply of water was doubled. The Marcian aqueduct was still further improved by Titus and Caracalla.

This aqueduct entered the city near the Porta Capena, and supplied the Cælian Hill. Its remains can be easily examined where it passes over the present Porta S. Lorenzo, where its specus lies below those of two other aqueducts,

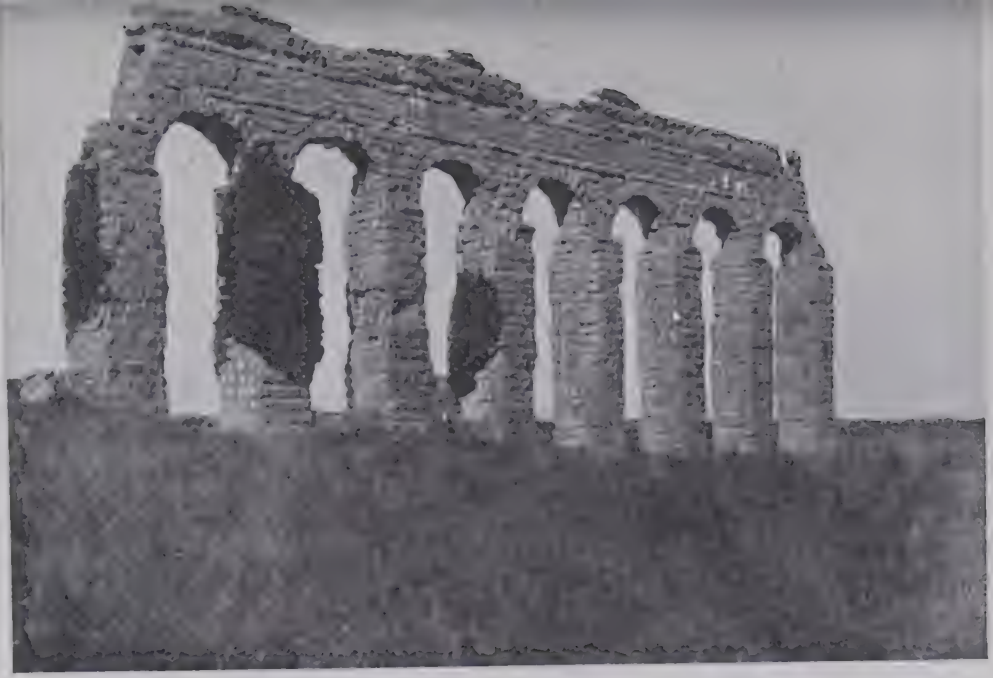
the Julia and Tepula. Water is still brought to Rome through the Marcian aqueduct, now known as the *Aqua Pia*. It was restored and solemnly inaugurated in 1870 by Pope Pius IX., — one of his last public acts in connection with his temporal power, as it preceded the entrance of the Italian army into Rome but a few days. The Marcian water was much esteemed for being unusually cold and pure.

Tacitus relates that in the cold spring of the Marcian aqueduct Nero swam from shore to shore, desiring thus to profane the sacred waters. The consequence of this mad exploit was a rheumatic fever of which the young emperor almost — but unfortunately not quite — died. The water of the *Aqua Tepula*, on the contrary, was thus named from being warm. It was built in 127 B. C., its source being eleven or twelve miles out on the Via Latina, and, together with the *Aqua Julia*, it was carried for a long distance on arches rebuilt by Augustus, as is seen by the gate of S. Lorenzo noticed above.

Near the source of the Aqua Julia, about a mile above the Monastery of Grottaferrata, nine of the *cippi*, or marking-posts, of Augustus have been found within a few years.

The *castella*, or reservoirs, were a very important feature of the aqueducts, and besides one at the beginning of the aqueduct, and one at its end, there were usually others along its route for the purification of the water by retaining its sediment in the reservoirs; necessary repairs could also be easily detected between any two of these points. The castella were also used for the purposes of irrigation for fields and gardens. The principal reservoir, at the termination of the aqueduct, was naturally the largest and most solidly constructed, sometimes in a splendid style of architecture.

The castellum built for the Aqua Julia, on the Esquiline, some portions of which still exist in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, was a splendid example of these reservoirs.



PORTION OF THE REMAINS OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUADUCT.

It is shown on the medallions of Alexander Severus, surrounded with a series of fountains, basins for water, and miniature waterfalls, all of which are made in marble and decorated with sculptures and marble columns. This may perhaps be called a splendid fountain, rather than a reservoir, for after the water from it had been displayed in ornamental jets and cascades, it entered another reservoir from which it was distributed in service-pipes. In 1822 this was excavated, and drawings made from it, and again in 1877 it was completely exposed.

The *Aqua Virgo* was begun by Agrippa in 33 B. C., its main object being to supply the Baths of Agrippa. There is a legend that its source was pointed out by a girl to some thirsty soldiers, and hence its name. This aqueduct has been restored, and still supplies the Fountain of Trevi, as well as the fountains of the Piazza Navona and the Piazza di Spagna, besides ten smaller fountains and a goodly number of streets. Some of the arches built by Agrippa still exist, and portions of its water-course can also be seen. This aqueduct had eighteen reservoirs, the main one being on the Pincian; its water is especially pure and cool. The Romans employed a very perfect system for filtering water, and every large reservoir contained vaulted chambers for this purpose. The large baths and fine private residences had castella of their own, which were called domestic reservoirs, or cisterns.

The reservoir behind S. Pietro in Montorio, on the Janiculum, built in the seventeenth century, is much like those of ancient days, and constantly pours a generous flood of water into a great basin.

Augustus built the *Aqua Alsietina* for the special supply of his great *Naumachia*, where the sea-fights were held. Its source was a lake near the fourteenth milestone on the Via Claudia. It was of a lower level than any other aqueduct, and the water was not fit to drink. What a labour to con-

struct first the Naumachia and then the aqueduct for so rare a use as that of these mock naval battles! but this aqueduct was restored by Paul V., and in the Trastevere quarter is known as the *Acqua Paolo*, and has been very useful in turning the flour-mills on the Janiculum in modern days.

The two magnificent aqueducts, the Claudia and *Anio Novus*, were begun by Caligula in 38 A. D., and completed by Claudius fourteen years later.

The *Aqua Claudia* is more than forty-five miles long, and its water-course rests for nine and a half miles on lofty arches, while for three thousand feet its channel is supported on solid masonry. The Anio Novus was sixty-two miles long, and also had nine and a half miles carried on splendid arches, some of which were one hundred and nine feet high. These two most magnificent aqueducts of Rome, in construction, length, and the height of their arches, met about three miles outside the city, and their water-courses were carried on the same arches into Rome, while within the city the two waters were mingled.

The ruins of these aqueducts are so often seen, not only when one goes to the Campagna, but from so many different points of view, that they come to seem like friends, and, like the most valued friends, grow more beautiful the more frequently they are seen. But few writers have so well depicted their charm as has Story, when, seeing them from the heights of Caracalla's Baths, he says: —

"Below you, stretching off towards the mountains amid broken towers, tombs, and castled ruins, that everywhere strew its rolling surface, behold that long line of arches, with here and there great gaps opening between lofty, ivy-covered fragments that seem like portions of grand porticoes, — that is the Claudian aqueduct. It domineers over all other ruins that you see, stretching its arches out and out till, 'fine by degrees and beautifully less,' they run away into the mountain's bosom. There it lies, like the broken vertebræ of some giant plesiosaurus, a ruined relic of a mighty age and a distant time. From the 'heart of the purple mountain,'

the shadow of trees, and the song of birds, it drew its waters to supply the baths of the Romans in this very ruin on whose height we stand; and the sylvan stream that listened on the hill-tops to the nightingale, and was brushed by the morning butterfly, here leaping at last to light from its dark and narrow prison, heard suddenly the clash of gladiators' swords and the murmur of a Roman populace."

The arch of an aqueduct under which a road passed was always built in a dignified and decorative style; and the present *Porta Maggiore*, which is a fine piece of this double aqueduct, is an admirable example of these arches. The two water-courses are in excellent preservation, and the entire structure was especially well built, as two roads passed beneath. Splendid remains of the Claudian aqueduct still stretch for miles across the Campagna.

Trajan built an aqueduct in 109 A. D., three years after death had deprived him of the valuable service of Frontinus. This *Aqua Trajana* was for the supply of the Transtiberine quarter of Rome, and its level was so high as to supply the summit of the Janiculan Hill. An inscription has been found recording the purchase by Trajan of a strip of land thirty feet wide, for the building of this aqueduct, on which no planting was to be done. A magnificent reservoir was built on the Janiculum, adorned with columns and statues, which is shown on coins of Trajan. The Gothic general Vitiges cut the aqueduct in 537 A. D., and Belisarius restored it; several popes have also repaired it, and it still continues to supply with a generous flood the fountains of S. Peter's and the great *Fontana Paolina*, as well as a large portion of the Transtiberine city. This, together with the *Acqua Vergine*, or *Aqua Virgo*, the *Acqua Pia*, the ancient *Aqua Marcia*, and the *Acqua Felice*, are the four old aqueducts that still supply water to modern Rome.

There is a difference among authorities about the Acqua Felice; some call it the ancient Claudian and others the

Alexandrina, which last was constructed by Severus Alexander, in 226 A. D., to supply his additions to the Baths of Nero. Among the fountains supplied by this water is that of Monte Cavallo in front of the Quirinal Palace.

This was the last aqueduct which was built in Rome, the whole number of eleven being sometimes increased to fourteen by speaking of what are but branches of these as main aqueducts.

Augustus appointed Agrippa to the office of Superintendent of the Water Works of Rome in 33 B. C.; and Pliny relates that in one year he constructed for public use seven hundred basins or pools, five hundred fountains, and one hundred and thirty reservoirs, many of these being richly decorated; three hundred statues in bronze and marble, and four hundred marble columns used in these works, all being made within the same year, according to this historian; who, valuable as is the information he gives us, makes an unusually large demand upon our credulity in this statement. However, the summing up of the amount of labour accomplished in the building of aqueducts, even by the most exact historians and archæologists, affords a marvellous illustration of the courage to undertake herculean enterprises which the Romans displayed; and of their ability to give form and prominence to their daring conceits.

The waters of eighteen springs were brought into Rome by fourteen aqueducts. These springs were at various distances from the capital, the shortest being seven and a half, and the farthest forty-four miles away.

The shortest aqueduct was about eleven miles long and the longest sixty-two. The length of all the fourteen aqueducts above ground was fifty-five miles, the channel being carried on the tops of arcades.

Some of these well merit the name of triumphal arches, since they are of great height for long distances, sometimes exceeding a hundred feet. The aggregate length under-

ground was three hundred and four miles, the entire distance traversed both above and below ground thus being a little more than three hundred and fifty-nine miles.

We can readily imagine the health, the joy, and the financial increase which this magnificent supply of water must have brought to the Romans. Aside from its benefit as a beverage and its purification of everything with which it came in contact, it was a mine of wealth in its uses for irrigation; and no garden or farm needed to suffer from drought, nor any dumb beast from thirst, for, according to Frontinus, nearly one quarter of the entire distribution of water was without the gates.

Within the gates an enormous quantity was enjoyed without money and without price, as there were five hundred and ninety-one open reservoirs, of greater or less size, scattered over the city, to which any one who chose could go with his bucket as frequently as he desired. It has been estimated that about eighteen million gallons flowed into these reservoirs every twenty-four hours. It is not strange that with all this opportunity the Romans became the nation of bathers that they were; which habit, alas! they have so sadly lost. However, it is only the lower classes who are not clean; and in what country do we find them more so? Certainly not in England, where their filth and rags could not be surpassed; and in many portions of the large cities of the United States, the poorest people, representatives of various nations as they are, all seem to be Anglomaniacs in this particular.

The fountains of Rome are an unending delight. The sound of falling water and the sight of tossing spray is in every square. Does the sun shine, the waters sparkle like jewels and dance and laugh as if their duty of rolling and tumbling were the superlative joy of all duty. Is the sky overcast and the day dark, they still roll on; they are doing their work and tossing a pure white foam, but with a graver

FOUNTAIN AND TRIUMPHAL ARCH. LATERAN MUSEUM.

and more sedate effect, as if they sympathise with us, who feel that Rome is not at its best spiritually when the sun does not shine.

Until one makes a list of the splendid first-class fountains in Rome, he scarcely realises how many they are. He comes to take them as a gift of the same Providence that sends the rain upon "the just and the unjust," and forgets what it means to keep their enormous streams for ever full.

The fountains of S. Peter's seem such a part of their surroundings that they quite lose themselves in the whole, — in what we really mean when we say S. Peter's. Old Neptune and his Tritons make more of a separate and individual impression in the Trevi, but scarcely as much as they merit, after all; and in the Barberini Square, where the Triton dominates the dolphins and blows a fine artistic spray from his conch; in the Piazza Navona, where the three fountains seem like the extravagance of a Nero, and the four river-gods are chained as if they might have been spared from death at some Roman triumph; in the Piazza di Monte Cavallo, where the Horse-Tamers of Phidias and Praxiteles never permit their restive steeds to drink from the basin of the Temple of Romulus when any human eye observes them; in the Piazza Farnese, where the streams fresh from the mountains seem to be ever purifying the *labra* in which the luxurious friends of Caracalla bathed; on the Janiculum, where the Fontana Paolina pours itself out abundantly, and with a roar that well expresses the resentment it should feel against the Pope and architect who made so ugly a receptacle for its silvery flood, — in short, in all the grand squares of Rome, the music of falling waters is an ever-present antidote to weariness, and to the habitual restlessness of modern life.

But it is not through the great fountains alone that the old aqueducts pour themselves most willingly. They seem to delight in filling the numberless gaping mouths stretched

open at every corner with their fresh, cool streams; and if an old Egyptian lion stands in their path, they make no apology for finding the outer world through his solemn jaws. He would be an enterprising man who would undertake to count the wells in the courts of the houses, and the washing cisterns, where these waters splash and gurgle, while the women gossip, and beat their linen, and spread it in the sun all day long.

Even after one leaves the city and wanders on the Campagna, he has not left the singing waters, which burst out here and there with their hospitality for man and beast, and trickle off in little streams, sometimes leaving but tiny green, mossy tracks to show where they have passed, and then again gathering in silver lines that sparkle like rivulets of diamonds as they stretch out and are lost to view.

To be statistical on this charming theme, we have already mentioned the five hundred fountains with which M. Agrippa endowed Rome in a single year; and in the ancient records as many as eighty fountains and basins of various size were credited to one quarter of the city, while in every direction they were numerous. Very few of the ancient fountains remain in any form; and where they can be located there are usually found the brick and concrete foundations and centres alone, all their artistic beauty having disappeared.

The great bronze cone in the *Giardino della Pigna* of the Vatican is pierced with holes at the roots of the scales, through which the water poured in jets when it made the centre of the handsome fountain which Pope Symmachus, 498–514 A. D., placed in the centre of the open space before S. Peter's as it then existed, and is shown in an ancient fresco in the church of S. Martino di Monti.

The private fountains in gardens and houses in ancient Rome were numerous and very beautiful. A favourite garden fountain, used also in courts, was placed in a niche lined with brilliantly coloured glass mosaics, bordered with shells; a

statuette, a lion's head, or similar design was set in the mosaic in the back of the niche, and from this the water poured into a basin below. These fountains have also been found in Pompeii in a very perfect state. Around all out-of-door fountains it was customary to place flowers in pots, or growing in earth in a sort of trough that was made around the fountain-basin for the purpose; and water-plants were much affected in these places.

Other fountains were exquisite in their design and in the marbles and porphyries of which they were made. They were decorated with statues in both marble and bronze; and frequently a Cupid or Nymph held a shell or fish, or other like object, from which the water flowed. Sometimes the fountain was a little edifice, the water bursting from it in all directions and running down over its steps into a basin. But perhaps the most elegant of all these was the beautifully proportioned, large, fluted basin, made from some exquisite marble and mounted on a slender support of Oriental alabaster, with a single jet of water springing from the middle of the basin. Naturally the amount of water conceded to a certain house was considered in the construction of the fountain; but if it did not permit a stream more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, the fountain was made accordingly, and even its little trickle was much prized.

The interior fountains were often very delicate figures, which did not require a large body of water, which would have concealed the exquisite artistic work lavished on them.

In the theatres and places of amusement under the Empire, it was customary to have perfumed fountains that cooled the air with scented waters; and an almost imperceptible spray was sometimes thrown from the very top of an amphitheatre down into its midst.

The fountain of the Piazza dei Termini, with its basalt lions, is so ugly and so unsuited to be classed with other

Roman fountains that its story should be told. It consists of three niches, the statues of Aaron and Gideon being in those at the sides of the central one, which contains a colossal Moses, with hand outstretched to strike the Rock. Domenico Fontana made the design; and a young sculptor then in Rome, Prospero da Brescia, was fired with a desire to obtain the commission for the Moses, boldly declaring that he would produce a prophet far more excellent than that of Michael Angelo. He obtained the order; and, excluding every one, he locked himself in his studio, devoting his thought, talent, and energy to his work, until he proudly announced that all Rome could see his magnificent prophet. Alas! the Romans greeted it with such scorn and jeers that the foolish Brescia went out and drowned himself. One wonders why the government finished it and put it in its place, unless it be for a warning to over-confident artists. But there it stands, bundled up in a great quantity of

VILLA ON THE SEASHORE.

most ungraceful drapery, with an absolutely savage expression, which is emphasised by two large horns and an enormously heavy beard. As a prophet, the figure is so fantastic that it becomes ludicrous.

When we try to imagine the beauty of the city of Rome under the Empire, — the fountains, gardens, porticoes, triumphal arches, palaces, temples, and forums, — it seems all too stately for "human nature's daily food;" and, wondering

where and when the Romans escaped from this burdensome imperial atmosphere, we recall the delightful descriptions of the villas scattered all over the vicinity of Rome, the shores of the Bay of Baiæ and other charming locations, — those lessons over which we laboured, and were well repaid, in our days of Latin translations. The minute details which Pliny gives of his villas and his farm make one feel quite at home in them, since this author has the power to place one in the surroundings which he describes. One of his villas was at Laurentum, on the Mediterranean, to which he could easily ride towards evening after attending to his many important duties at Rome, as he became possessed of this estate during the years of his heaviest public duties. At Laurentum the whole shore was crowded with summer residences; and that it was deemed a most healthful spot is proved by the fact that the physician of the Emperor advised his going there for the summer to avoid an epidemic of pestilence then cursing Rome.

One remark of Pliny's, that the bay-tree would not live through a winter at Laurentum or at Rome without shelter, shows what climatic changes have occurred since his day; we now see the bay and the olive flourishing in all this country, and roses blooming out of doors in Rome in every month of the year. But undoubtedly the climate of Laurentum and neighbouring places, which we should not find warm for summer residence, was much cooler when the Tiber could be choked with ice; when the snow lay seven feet where not drifted, and both men and animals froze to death, while famished wolves came into Rome and dragged a dead body into the Forum, where the snow was very deep. To all of which we have the testimony of Livy, Dionysius, and other authors. May it not be that this change of climate accounts for the unhealthfulness of the Campagna in modern times? Even the Pontine marshes were not unhealthy then. Pliny speaks of twenty-three cities situated on them; and Livy

tells of their cultivation by the Romans, who regarded them as a granary in time of famine.

In truth, the Campagna was thickly settled, covered with villas and farms, where a multitude of men and beasts lived and flourished. So many discoveries have been made here in recent years, that this city of buried homes can be spoken of with assurance.

The villas were principally built on one plan, and rise in steps and terraces from the lowest to the highest point of land belonging to them. The terraces were supported by strong foundation walls, and were ornamented by statues, niches, and nymphæa, or areas decorated with statues of nymphs and water-deities, a fountain, and aquatic plants. On the lower terraces were gardens and orchards, while the dwelling-house was on the highest point.

With such a plan, not only from the house, but from the upper terraces, the whole surrounding landscape could be seen, while the water supplied to each estate was made to do duty several times over, since the overflow of each height fell on the next below; and great skill was attained in supplying numerous fountains and nymphæa with a comparatively small body of water, of which there was no waste permitted.

During the great prosperity of Rome at the close of the Republic and under the Empire, the wealthy patricians owned several villas suited in position and arrangement to spring, summer, and winter residences; and according to the season for which they were intended, the exposure was made to the north or to the south. The Claudian, Valerian, Flavian, and other aristocratic families were possessed of villas suited to the varying seasons.

The Quintilii were unfortunately fond of their villas, and successful in making them attractive. As a summer home, they had a villa at Tusculum, which was but seven miles from their magnificent winter house on the Appian Way.

They refused to sell the last to the Emperor Commodus, who simply murdered the two brothers and seized what he could not buy. Its ruins cover an area nearly a mile square. All this sounds very magnificent and extravagant, but it is not uncommon in England for a family to own and use their town-house, country-house, shooting-box, and fishing-preserves; and even in the youthful United States there are not a few who find the need of the town, country, mountain, and seashore houses, with the addition of a yacht and private car.

Who shall say that the best of the ancient Romans did not support responsibilities and cares enough to merit all the compensation that their delightful villas and well-tilled farms could give them? And what was true of the best ancient Romans is quite as true of the best Anglo-Saxons to-day.

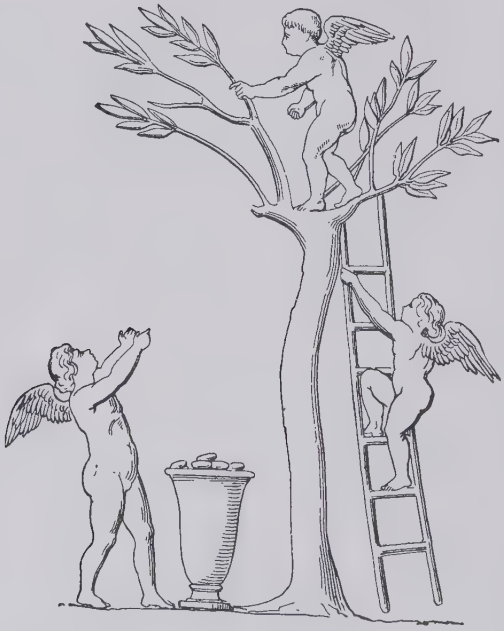
At all events, within a radius of from four to seven or even ten miles from the Capitoline Hill, the Campagna was literally covered with fine estates; and the present knowledge of these matters inclines one to the belief that Rome itself extended, in closely settled quarters, over miles of country now desolate and uninhabited. Outside the streets, where houses were essentially in blocks, were districts with houses separated by small garden-plots; and, as one advanced, houses and gardens increased in size until such villas as I have described were reached; and a little further still were farms, each one of which was a hamlet within itself.

Stones which have been discovered reveal that such was the condition of things in the now deserted regions of the Via Appia and Via Nomentana; and the inscriptions found in these present wastes prove that here were large peasant gatherings for games, festivals, and meetings for many purposes. When we add to this busy and abundant life, which radiated over the Campagna, the constant processions of traffic on all the roads, as well as on the banks of the Tiber and on its stream, we find no lack of life and movement, —

ARCH OF THE AQUEDUCT ANIO NOVUS.

neither among those who raised the produce which largely fed the city and carried it thither, nor in the busy multitudes that are ever passing to and fro near all large centres.

Here, too, were travellers and others, equestrians and those who rode in the carriages of the day, some of which were piled up with luggage; while ladies were borne along reclining in the *lectica*, carried by from two to eight handsome slaves, in fine showy liveries, and preceded by one who



OLIVE-GATHERING.

cleared the way before them. Besides these were many pilgrims seeking the graves of their kindred to pour libations and scatter flowers in the numerous cemeteries, as well as the purposeless throngs who ever linger and loiter along beside those who do the work of the world.

In the later and more luxurious days of the Empire, from the time of Nero to that of Honorius, at least, the Romans had splendid coaches, frequently of solid silver, the harnesses of mules or horses being embossed with gold. When Saint Melania returned to Rome, a few years before the invasion of the Barbarians, the Appian Way was covered with the coaches of the nobles, who went out to meet her.

Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of some scenes on the road, and says that the nobles "measure their rank and consequence by the loftiness of their chariots and the mighty magnificence of their dress. Their long robes of silk and purple float in the wind; and as they are agitated by art or accident, they occasionally discover the under-garments, the rich tunics embroidered with figures of various animals. Followed by a train of fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement, they move along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post-horses; and the example of the senators is boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies, whose covered carriages are continually driving around the immense space of the city and suburbs." The same author thus speaks of the removal of a family from the city to the villa home: "In these journeys into the country, the whole body of the household marches with their master. In the same manner as the cavalry and infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops, the advanced guard and the rear, are marshalled by the skill of their military leaders, so the domestic officers, who bear a rod as an ensign of authority, distribute and arrange the numerous train of slaves and attendants. The baggage and wardrobe move in front, and are immediately followed by a multitude of cooks and inferior ministers employed in the service of the kitchens and of the table. The main body is composed of a promiscuous crowd of slaves, increased by the accidental concourse of idle or dependent plebeians. The rear is closed by the

favourite band of eunuchs, distributed from age to youth according to the order of seniority."

Seneca, who wrote much earlier than Ammianus, mentions some curious circumstances connected with the journeys of noble Romans of his time. He says they were preceded by a body of light-horse, and the cloud of dust thus raised gave warning of the approach of a person of importance; their baggage-mules transported the most delicate and costly vessels of crystal, and *murra*, or Chinese and Japanese porcelain; and the delicate faces of the young slaves were covered with a medicated crust to secure them from the effects of sun or frost.

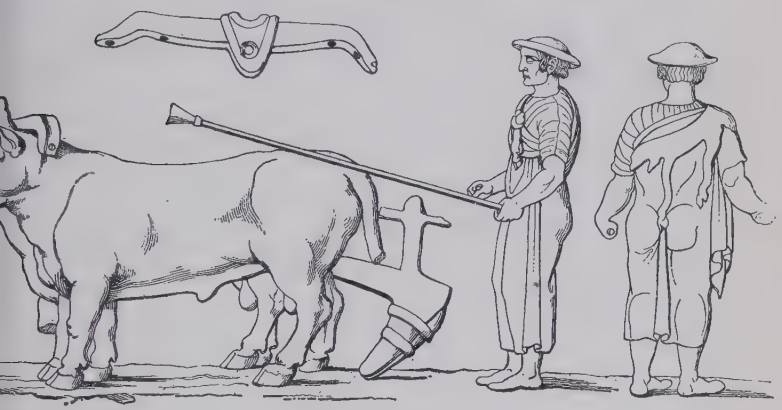
We must not forget that the beautiful processions of aqueduct arches which we now admire were not then in ruins; the temples and shrines had not fallen down; the cemeteries were filled with shining marbles, shaded by the ilex and the willow; and statues, ornaments, and roofs of glittering bronze were seen in all directions.

We know of no such scene to-day as existed here in the Augustan Age; and the most fruitful imagination of the artist or the poet must fail to reconstruct with brush or pen the glories of the Campagna of Ancient Rome. And yet no flight of fancy could exceed the statements of existing documents and the testimony of the archæologists, who are bringing to light abundant proofs of all this and more.

There is, however, one feature of the estates much praised by ancient writers which I suspect that we moderns should not unreservedly admire, — the gardens. They were as a rule — and the exceptions were very rare — entirely robbed of grace by the artificial setting and training of trees and shrubs, which were tortured into every conceivable form except those natural to them.

The trees were counterfeits of beasts, birds, and reptiles, many of which could have been worshipped without sin, — as they resembled nothing "in heaven above, or in the earth

beneath, or in the water under the earth;" while other wretched shrubs were made unblushingly to announce the name, not only of the owner of these horrors, but also of the man who had designed them. The manner in which vines and certain trees were trained on the terraces and over



THE PLOUGHMAN.

the trellises which shaded the paths was more acceptable; and the love for roses which the Romans cherished is a bond of sympathy with them which outlasts the ages. They imported them from Egypt; and all about the Bay of Salerno whole fields of roses, some of which bloomed late in the autumn, were raised to supply the Roman demand.

There were many greenhouses on these country estates, in which grapes and delicate vegetables were grown as well as flowers; and in some portions of the grounds flowers were permitted to grow naturally in order that the tables and other parts of the house should be supplied with lilies, poppies, narcissus, etc.

It may be said that Roman villas followed one general plan, which makes the exceptions of which descriptions exist all the more charming. There was always, however,

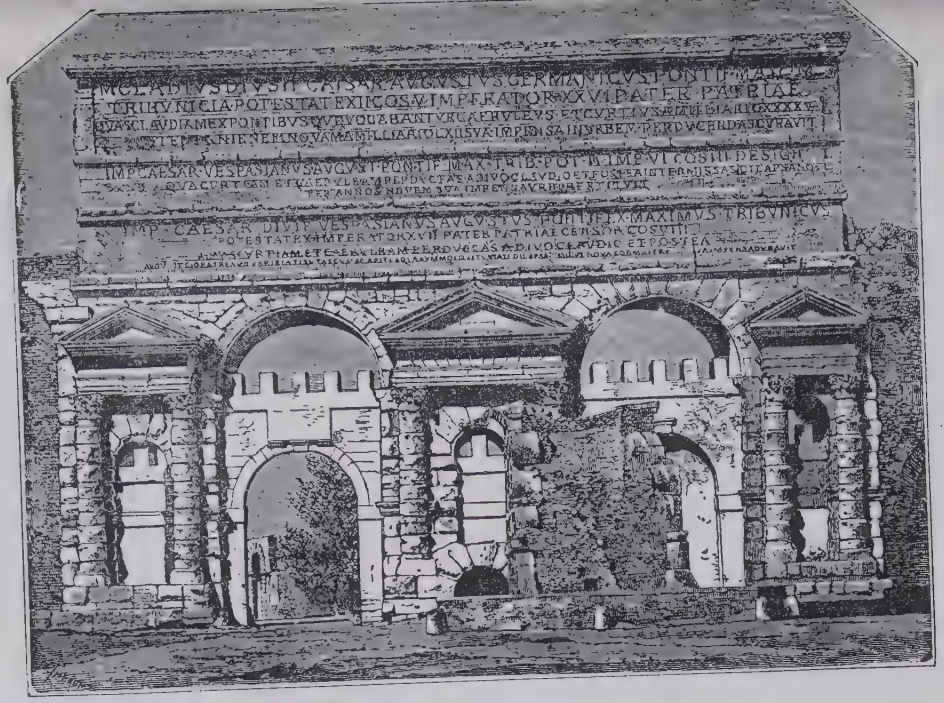
the lord's manor, with the gardens, quite separated from the orchards, woodlands, grainfields, and vineyards, all of which were near the stables and dwellings of the farmer and the slaves.

Both Nero and Trajan built villas high up in the mountains where they could indulge in reserves and hunting-lodges, and where they left everything to nature; but such nature! Trajan's site has been thus described: —

"Limestone peaks seven thousand feet high, marked occasionally with snow, even in the heart of summer; green valleys, resorted to as a summer pasture-ground by flocks of cattle from the Campagna, dense oak and beech forests, the haunts of bears and wolves; mountain streams teeming with trout, — in fact, all the characteristics and beauties of a modern Alpine summer resort, with the addition of a magnificent marble palace, furnished with the treasures of the world."

The great orator and lawyer, Hortensius, whose small but richly decorated house on the Palatine later made the centre of the imperial palace, had sumptuous villas at Tusculum, Bauli, and Laurentum. He moistened his olive plantations with wine; and it is related that on an occasion when he was engaged in an important case with Cicero, he begged the latter to change the order for pleading which they had arranged, that he might go to Tusculum to superintend the pouring of wine on an Oriental plane-tree which grew near his villa. In spite of this use of wine, Hortensius left ten thousand casks in his cellar at the time of his death. At his Tusculum villa he made an especial feature of a hall which he built at great cost to receive a picture of the expedition of the Argonauts, painted by Cydias, for which he paid the artist a sum that amounted to a liberal fortune for him.

At Bauli his fish-ponds were his pride. It was Hortensius who was credited with having wept over the death of his favourite lamprey; and so unwilling was he to lessen the


TRIBVNICIA POTESTATE XIII COS V IMPERATOR XXVII PATER PATRIAE
IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVGVSTVS PONTIF MAX TRIB POT X IMP XVI COS VIII DESIGN
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POTESTATE XV IMPERATOR XXVII PATER PATRIAE CENSOR COS VIIII

PORTA MAGGIORE, OR PORTA NEVIA, AT ROME.

numbers in his ponds that he bought fish for his suppers, although he had a great number of fishermen in his service.

The situation of this villa at Bauli was unsurpassed: the sea-view was most extensive, its colours ever changing with the different hours of the day, showing purple, saffron, or azure as the wind might blow and the sun decline; while the numerous vessels crossing the bay gave life and cheerfulness to the view; and the songs of the fishermen, softened by distance, were harmonious and soothing. The inland view was also extensive and magnificent, embracing many villas, plantations, and villages.

The villa of Hortensius at Laurentum was also magnificent, with its wooded park of fifty acres, its quiet fields covered with grazing herds, and its hills with exquisite groves and dense forests. To the northeast there was a splendid view of the mountains; on the opposite side one saw the distant Tuscan Sea. In the park were many wild beasts, which came to be fed at the blowing of a horn, and afforded amusement to the guests at the villa. Varro gives an account of an entertainment given here by Hortensius, when the tables were on an eminence, and in the midst of the feast the master called his Orpheus and commanded him to display his powers. A trumpet was accordingly blown, when such a multitude of wild beasts rushed forth from all sides — deer, boars, and other animals — that the spectators found it a more wonderful and more beautiful sight than the courses with animals in the great Circus.

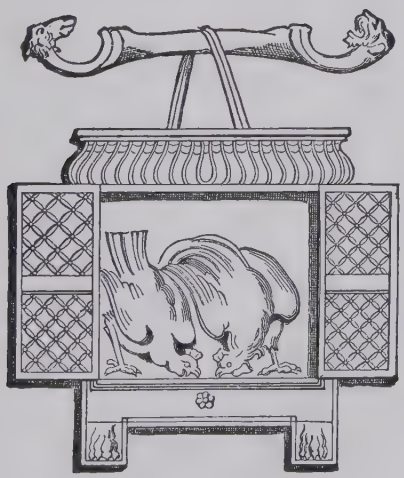
One of the saddest of the many sad features of the invasion of the Barbarians was the insecurity it brought to the Campagna, and indeed the actual devastation of all that appealed to the cupidity of the Vandals.

Then, too, the aqueducts were ruined; and who could live on the Campagna without them?

The story of the camps of the invaders and their methods of life as told by Procopius, who was an eye-witness of much that he relates; the number of times that they besieged

Rome, each fresh army destroying all that its predecessors had spared; and the impoverishment of the Romans, — each and all made it impossible that the Campagna could be again inhabited by these wretched people, and its doom was sealed.

All that remained of its ruined villas, farms, cemeteries, and monuments gradually sunk into the bosom of the earth, and has been sleeping through the centuries. From time to time a discovery of ruins has been made; but it has been left to our century and to its devoted archæologists to apprehend their extent and quality; and we now regard what has for so long been a grandly imposing and picturesque plain — the home of great herds of horses, and of silky-coated goats, who leap about among the ruins — as a mine of villas, tombs, granaries, farmhouses, etc., containing all the utensils necessary to the life that once was here, as well as mosaic pavements, beautiful bronzes, and sculptured marbles, and, more precious than all, the inscriptions which constantly correct and increase our knowledge of the Rome of the Romans.

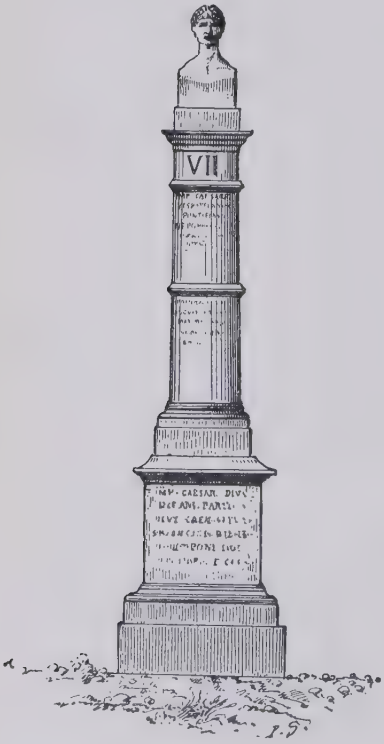


THE SACRED CHICKENS.

CHAPTER XII.

ROADS, WALLS, GATES, AND SEWERS.

VITRUVIUS wrote of Roman roads as comprehensively as of Roman aqueducts. They equally display the magnificent engineering, the courage for great undertakings, and the disregard of the vast amount of human labour — and, indeed, of human life — demanded by such prodigious enterprises, which characterised the ancient Romans.



A MILESTONE.

Roads and aqueducts were equally important; the latter brought health and many other blessings, as well as luxury, to the capital; but while the Romans were still content with the water of the Tiber, they realised the pressing need for a more extended and better system of communication with the world at large. When the great network of

highways which ultimately resulted was complete, — when "all roads led to Rome," — it afforded the greatest possible stimulus to the aggrandisement and prosperity of the Roman Nation.

The moral effect of the roads upon the subjects of Rome was of vast importance. Whenever a man crossed them and looked down their far-stretching, direct line, which, as he knew, would take him to the capital, and along which the agents of that central power could come to reach him, he had a sense of being linked to that great city which he could not have had when no such path existed. Then he may have known in what direction Rome lay; but the untravelled, unmarked country between him and it suggested no common interest, no practical tie, and he might even doubt if it possessed the means to reach him, however he rebelled against the laws which from time to time were promulgated in the provinces.

But when he looked far as his sight could reach, and his imagination prolonged his vision, on, on, over the well-made highway, he could almost hear the soldiers advancing; and if he had cherished traitorous thoughts, he felt how powerless he should be against the constraining authority with which he was now in absolute communication. These roads were, as Merivale says, "the veins through which the life-blood of the Empire circulated from its heart, making every pulse to beat with unfailing harmony and precision."

And these great military high-roads, as they may well be called, — since they were raised above the plains, the banks of the rivers, and even carried on viaducts resembling the arches of the aqueducts, — hesitated before no obstacle; but, pursuing a straight course, they climbed the lofty hills, stretched through the darkest forests, and passed from one point to another as directly as the arrow in its course. When the conception of what these highways should be, had once been mastered by the Roman engineer, they became as

perfect a system as could be imagined for the period and the purposes for which they were constructed.

The post-houses, or stations, at proper distances, were maintained in good repair all over Italy, by tolls or rates; each thousand paces was marked by an inscribed post; and, in short, nothing that could contribute to an effective system of highways was neglected.

We, who now approach Rome from all directions in a railroad train, are scarcely led to think about the Roman

STONE-CUTTERS.

roads for a much greater distance than that in which they serve us for excursions. But the Romans, who journeyed far and wide, travelled on the highways; and it is recorded that Julius Cæsar reached Geneva in eight days from Rome. He usually travelled one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; Tiberius, when hastening to Drusus in Germany, accomplished double that distance in the same time; Cicero calls fifty-six miles a good twelve hours' distance; the

poet Martial, however, mentions forty miles a day as a reasonable journey.

The administration of the roads was most important; and the office of *curator* of a road was one of dignity and distinction. Cæsar himself was curator of the Via Appia, and several emperors assumed this title. Pliny the Younger records the appointment of Cornutus Tertullus to the management of the Via Æmilia as a distinguished honour. Frequently the curator of a road spent large sums for its improvement from his private purse; and these liberal acts were recorded on the pillars or posts which bordered the roads. Grants were made for highways by the government, but it was not rare for a wealthy man to build a road at his own cost.

Augustus restored the Flaminian Way, his nephew, Gaius Cæsar, superintending the work; and this was not the only case in which Augustus gave large sums for the benefit of roads.

The milestones recorded the distance from whatever gate in the Servian Wall the road issued. These were short marble columns under the Empire; and the first one on the Via Appia, which was found in its place in 1584, now stands at the top of the Capitoline steps; it has the name of Nerva inscribed upon it as well as the numeral I., indicating that this Emperor replaced with marble the older peperino or tufa columns.

The *Milliarium Aureum*, set up by Augustus in 28 B. C., is often referred to. It was a column sheathed with gilt bronze, on which were inscribed the names of the chief towns through which the roads radiating from the thirty-seven gates of Rome passed, as well as the distances to each. This column was erected near the great steps which led to the Temple of Saturn. A fragment of the supporting pillar of the Milliarium still exists, and is studded with stumps of bronze pins which held the covering in place, and with the

holes in which they were driven; other fragments, probably belonging to the pedestal of this column, have been found near its ancient position.

Three curious itineraries have been brought to light, which were engraved on silver vases and thrown into the hot springs of the ancient Baths of Apollo, probably by some Spaniard who had been benefited by the waters. These cups date from the Flavian period, and are now in the Museum in the Collegio Romano. The route described is that from Rome to Cadiz; the names of the posting stages, and the places where travellers could rest and refresh themselves on the way, are all given. What a tremendous journey it would seem to a modern to be made on a saddle or in the carriages of ancient days!

Under the *curatores* were the *mancipes*, or contractors, who carried out the plans of their superiors in building new and repairing old roads. The Censors, Ædiles, and Quæstors at different periods had the care of roads added to their duties; and in any case this office was an honourable one.

Until the time of Nerva, farmers and others were obliged to supply horses and mules, free of charge, to those who travelled on business for the State; the generous act of the Emperor in remitting this tax upon the people was commemorated on a most artistically executed coin, the design on which was that of two mules just released from their yokes; it was made in 97 A. D. In later days there were postmasters on each road, whose office it was to supply vehicles and animals for posting. The posting-stations were but five or six miles apart, and each one was provided constantly with forty horses.

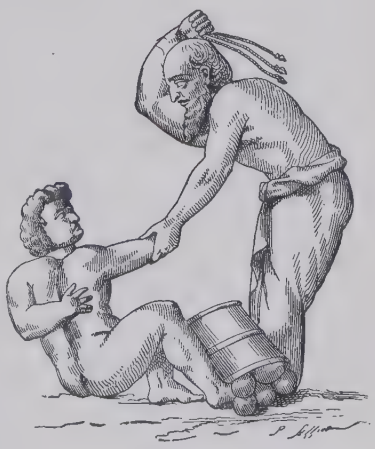
In 1884, a pedestal for a statue of Caracalla was found in the House of the Vestals; and in the inscription upon it the road officials were mentioned.

The method of making Roman roads demanded an immense amount of labour, which time has fully justified by the

present condition of work done many centuries ago. The labourers were principally slaves and convicts; and the occasional sentence of men of position, or rank, to be branded and compelled to labour in the quarries and on the highways, was regarded as extreme cruelty. Constant changes went on in consequence of increasing concessions of water to private estates and houses; while the making of new branches to the principal roads, and the paving of new streets, afforded employment for an army of roadbuilders.

The men employed in taking up and relaying lava pavements were so numerous that this specialty became a trade in itself, and they were given a distinctive name, — *silicarii*.

The first step in the making of a Roman road was the digging of parallel trenches, leaving the intended width of the roadway between them; this roadway was then excavated to the solid ground below, and on this were first placed a layer of stones, "as large as a man could take in his hand;" second, a strata nine inches deep, composed of rough stones and lime, pounded down hard with wooden "beetles;" third, six inches deep of broken bricks and pottery; and fourth, the paving-stones, carefully fitted together and levelled like a floor.



A SLAVE UNDER THE SCOURGE.

The nature of the soil and obstacles to be overcome compelled occasional changes in this method; but where it was possible, it was followed, as Vitruvius, who wrote in the time of Augustus, relates.

Certain swamps called for an immense amount of pile-driving; valleys were crossed by viaducts, the roads being supported by arches and masonry like that of the aqueducts; and occasionally both water-channels and roads rested on the same substructure.

The earliest Roman roads and streets were narrow: the Via Sacra was nowhere more than twenty feet wide; and some highways were not more than eleven, — which made the Appian Way, where waggons could pass each other at any point, appear especially fine, as is noticed by Procopius as late as the sixth century from the building of Rome.

In the imperial epoch roads were wider; an instance, no doubt exceptional, is that of the tunnel of the time of Augustus, near Naples, in which the road is nearly thirty feet wide, even where it pierces the rock for half a mile, and we may reasonably suppose that outside such a tunnel it was still broader.

The Via Appia, constructed in 312 B. C., and ever known as the "Queen of Roads," is the most venerable of Roman highways. It was built to unite Rome to Capua, a hundred and thirty miles away, and was later extended to Brindisi, about three hundred and fifty miles. In course of the building of the great network of roads that eventually surrounded Rome, this mother of them all was frequently joined and crossed by younger branches of her family.

This splendid road and the Aqua Claudia immortalised the name of Appius Claudius, their builder, and one of the most eminent of ancient Romans. His far-reaching intelligence proved to him that the time for parsimony had passed, and that the greatest gains would result from the free expenditure of the public treasure in perfecting such schemes as should benefit every citizen of Rome, whether in the city or the provinces.

Nothing more emphatically declares the greatness of Old Rome than does that splendid system of works of public

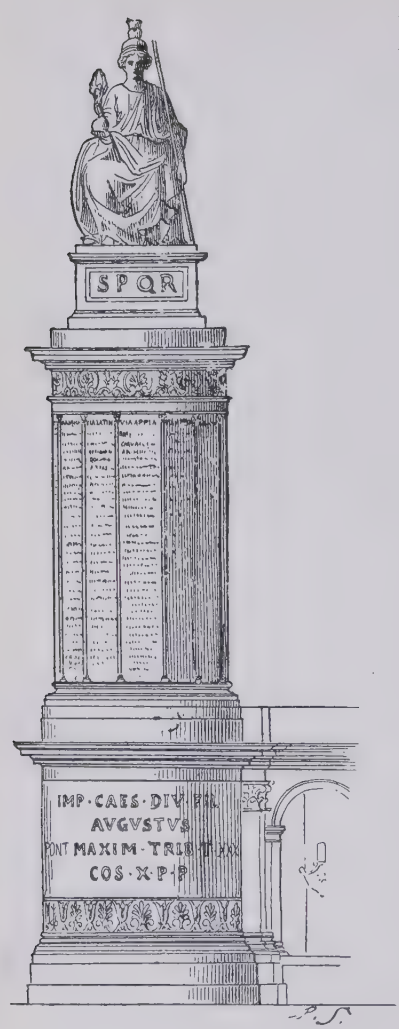
utility, the remnants and wreck of which would to-day disclose the magnitude of the power to which they pertained to one who had never heard of the past grandeur of the Eternal City.

By the example of Appius Claudius the Senate and people of Rome were incited to perfect that system of roads and fortresses which brought all Italy into close contact with the seat of empire, and provided the government with such communication, not only with Italy, but with other countries, as has been proved to be an absolute necessity to military domination.

From the time when Appius Claudius became censor, in 312 B. C., to that when he died, a blind old man, his name is constantly prominent in the affairs of Rome. An aristocrat of aristocrats, a great-great-grandson of the Sabine who, in the early days of Rome, entered the city with five thousand followers, Claudius was a patrician of a most exalted order; but he was also wise enough and broad enough to see that the power of the state centred in ranks below his own, and philanthropic enough to willingly aid those humbler than himself; and he it was who, "the boldest innovator in Roman history," without consulting any will but his own, took means to equalise the rights of freeholders and non-freeholders.

This able statesman was no less able as a scholar; and it has even been said that Roman jurisprudence, eloquence, poetry, and grammar date from him, as well as aqueducts and highways. What greater recompense of praise could a man desire? So long as Appius Claudius was a Roman official, he was pre-eminently an individual, and this to such an extent as to disregard, not only customs and traditions, but even laws; he seemed like what one would expect a ghost of the Tarquins and a precursor of the Cæsars to be.

In 296 B. C., when Pyrrhus sent his ambassador to the Senate with a request that he might come to Rome in person,



GOLDEN MILESTONE.

the Senate hesitated; and we may say that it was blind old Appius Claudius — who had caused himself to be led there at this crisis — who replied to the insolent request in those proud words, then first spoken, and thenceforth a state maxim, "Rome does not negotiate while foreign troops remain in Italy."

One cannot easily turn away from the study of the character and achievements of a man like Appius Claudius. One wishes to hear more about him, and, when all that is possible is learned, still dwells upon his achievements and speculates upon the influences which bring so individual a man out of such surroundings as his. For Rome and Italy in his day were governed by ideas and maxims which had been handed down from past generations and centuries. Senators endeavoured to imbue their sons, who were likely to follow them in their office, with the policy by which they were

governed. The individualism which had asserted itself in the regal period was entirely a thing of the past, and the individualism which the future was to bring to Rome was not yet even dreamed of. The endeavour of the Romans seemed, at this period, to be directed to the destruction of all originality, of all marked men, and to provide, by its rigid system of moral dictation, a mould to which each man must fit himself. This system detracts greatly from the interest of this age; and a man like Appius Claudius in the midst of it seems to have been born too early or too late to have been all that he might have been.

We are told that a mile of the Appian Way lies within the city of Rome; it is entirely covered by a comparatively recent pavement; and even outside the gate of S. Sebastian the road has a modern look, until, after some miles, it narrows and assumes an aspect that is suited to the thought that over the very stones on which we walk or ride, Roman chariots rolled, while weary-footed slaves and prisoners toiled over the burning pavement, with no hope in their hearts to lessen the pain in their dragging limbs.

It was only in 1850 that Pope Pius IX. resurrected twelve miles of this highway. It cost three years of labour and fifteen thousand dollars; the pavement thus revealed is by no means that of the earliest and best period of roadmaking, and, though of lava, it has evidently been carelessly relaid. There is a bit of antique pavement in the Forum, before the Temple of Saturn, with perfectly made joints, that shows in what manner the entire Via Appia, from Rome to Capua, was originally made, if we rely on the testimony of ancient writers and records which we see no reason to doubt.

The Via Appia left Rome by the Porta Capena and the Porta Appia, now S. Sebastian; it led to the south, and over it passed all who went to Greece, to Asia, and to Africa; and at the time of its construction the attention of Rome

turned to the south, and to these countries. A century, however, brought about great changes, resulting, in 187 B. C., during the consulship of the censor C. Flaminius, in a pressing need for a great military road to the north, — a road by which Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain could be reached. In fact, roadmaking was for more than a century and a half before the Christian era pursued by the Romans with unflagging zeal. A branch was built from Capua on the Via Appia to the Sicilian Straits; on the east coast, as a part of the Flaminian Way, the road was extended southward to Brindisi, and northward to Atria on the Po, and so on to Aquileia; the Etruscan highways also, from Rome to Pisa and Luna, as well as the Cassian road, are of this period.

The Flaminian road issued from the *Porta Ratumena*, just under the northern edge of the Capitoline, ran along the line of the Corso through the Aurelian *Porta Flaminia*, — which was on the site of the present *Porta del Popolo*, — and crossed the Tiber by the Milvian Bridge — now Ponte Molle — which bridge was reconstructed in stone in 109 B. C. Besides all these, roads were built in Northern Italy which connected the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas, and certain new colonies were probably founded on these roads about this time; as, for example, that at Dertona. Without doubt the construction of imperial highways was now begun in the provinces, which were a vast benefit to Rome itself.

The topic of roadmaking would at first thought appear dry and uninteresting, as it presents itself to the minds of those who have never seen a country not well supplied with highways; but if one pictures a country without roads and bridges, even in imagination, he realises at once how "cribbed, cabined, and confined" he would be in such a place, and his respect for roads is at once increased.

A journey which I once made, with a mule-team, for many consecutive days and nights, in a country with scarcely an apology for a road, and no bridges, — fording streams when

low enough, waiting on their banks after a rain for the water to subside, sleeping on the grass where various small animals and snakes had already established squatter sovereignty, and cooking what I could in gipsy fashion, — convinced me that good roads should be gratefully appreciated.

The Romans were to be congratulated on many great achievements, but for nothing more than that under the Empire their cities were put into communication with one another and with the capital. Beginning at the Forum Romanum, the roads ended at the frontiers of the Empire in every direction; and the great avenues of travel, measured from the extreme northwestern to the southeastern limit, reached the length of four thousand and eighty Roman miles.

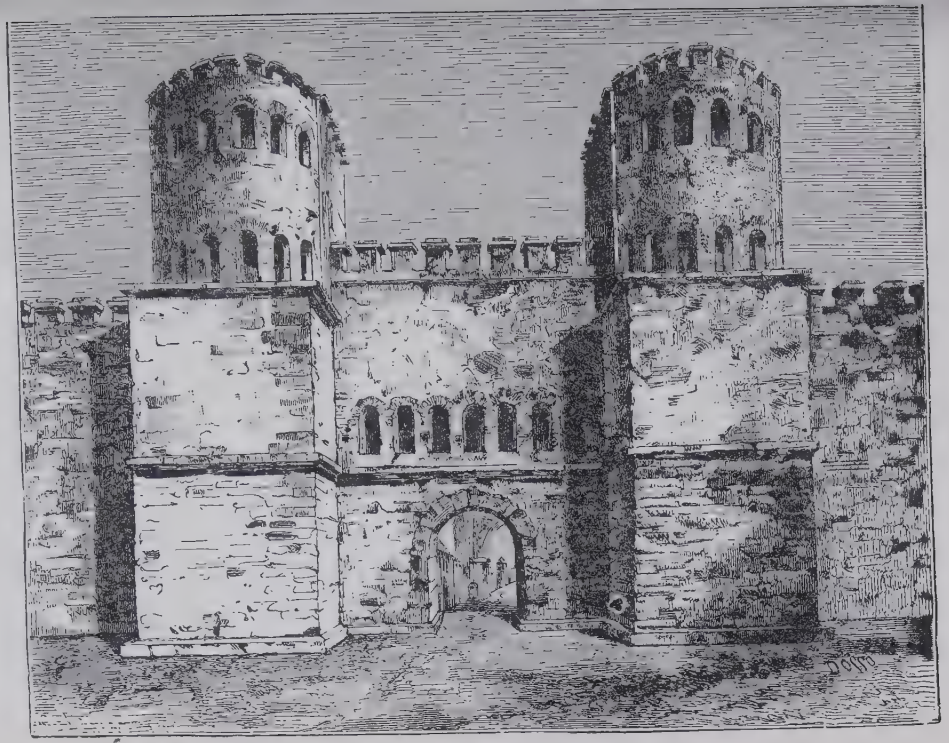
All this had not been easily attained; indeed, the building of a road through a certain district frequently included the conquest of the tribes through whose country the route lay. For example, consider the difficulty encountered in securing a safe and proper road over the Alps, the passage of which involved not only the hardships of the rugged ascents, the crossing of glaciers, the sufferings and dangers from storms, avalanches, and other natural causes, but also the deadly perils from the barbaric native tribes. Their jealous ferocity was quickly aroused by any unusual event; and though they might be overcome by the determination of a Pompey or a Hannibal, they could not be conciliated by an army with roadmaking implements, but must be subdued by military force. In times of war both Gauls and Romans had survived the terrible dangers and endured the hardships of the passage, for the sake of falling unawares upon their enemy on the other side of these great barriers.

There existed, in the second century before our era, three routes, at least, which passed over the Western Alps; but these could not be traversed without great difficulties, especially from the attacks of the unsettled tribes of Liguria. These barbarians were not subjugated until the time of

Augustus, — as is recorded on an existing monument not far from Monaco, — after which the famous coast-line, or Cornice road, afforded to the Romans a practicable and safe passage to Southern Gaul. As the inscription on the monument of Susa shows, the routes over Cenis, Genèvre, and Monte Viso were secured by a treaty with the King of the Cottian Alps, whose fidelity was not only rewarded with the retention of a nominal sovereignty over his country, but also with the title of prefect and the name of M. Julius. But a Roman colony planted on the site of Turin, just on the frontier of his dominions, must have made him realise that he was in the power of the Romans in a manner for which no Roman name and title could compensate him.

Again, if the Romans made the pass of the Great S. Bernard, they encountered on the Italian side the Salassi, who resented their intrusion, and annoyed them in all possible ways. Decimus Brutus paid them a toll for every man, as he fled from Mutina; and on one occasion they robbed Cæsar himself of all his baggage. We must, however, sympathise with the Salassi when we remember how cruelly they were deceived by the Romans, when, in 25 B. C., Terentius Varro, who was sent to subjugate them, persuaded them to treat, and repaid their confidence with the most dastardly and atrocious cruelty. He captured the entire tribe and sold them into slavery, their purchasers being pledged that no one Salassi, even, should be emancipated within twenty years. The victims numbered eight thousand fighting men, and thirty-six thousand other men, women, and children.

On the present site of Aosta a Roman military colony was established, and a triumphal arch erected to celebrate the successes of the Romans; and the lesser tribes, witnessing the overthrow and frightful condition of the powerful Salassi, made their submission; and the Empire being at peace, the Temple of Janus was closed.



THE APPIAN GATE, RESTORED.

This view of the difficulties which the Romans encountered in one direction is sufficient to show at what expenditure of lives, money, and time, as well as of political and military talent, the system of Roman roads was inaugurated, since the struggles and labours in the Alps were necessarily repeated, in greater or less degrees, in whatever direction their approaches were made.

Could the entire history of the construction of Roman military roads and highways be written, it would include romantic tales of hazard and adventure, of sacrifice and suffering, which would lend to the subject a dignity and effectiveness somewhat in keeping with their value to Rome and to the world.

Interesting and admirable as are the roads and aqueducts, there are still earlier works of Roman engineering, that have commanded the admiration of succeeding ages. The regal period, 753–510 B. C., is, in its earliest centuries, but a half-historical age, and much that is given as its history is far too dim and mythological to be seriously accepted. This is so true of what is told of the *Roma Quadrata*, the *Pomerium*, and the so-called Walls of Romulus, that it is wise to leave any serious discussion of them to learned archæologists and antiquarians; while the less scholarly may still cherish a true affection for the tales of the laying out of the first, the ploughing of the second, and the Titanic building of the last.

We may permit them to remain in a fabulous and mysterious long ago, an obscure age, filled with cities and monuments and people, which we have a right to construct and reconstruct in accordance with our increasing years and enlarged knowledge.

This is one of the few things that we may do with the delicious assurance that we cannot be proved to be wrong in our fancies, since no one has been able to state the cold facts and support them with such proof as we — of this last

decade of the nineteenth century — demand before we accept any theory that does not commend itself to us; and this no theory can do which destroys the kernel of the marvellous stories which we heard in the charming time when we believed all that was told us, and no tale was too wonderful for our acceptance.

But the Great Wall, said to have been built by Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius, is too solid a fact, even in its present fragmentary state, to be set aside. Enough of it exists, after more than twenty-four centuries, to prove the excellence of the masonry of the sixth century B. C., and to emphasise the determination of the ancient Romans to fortify and defend the city of their "Father Romulus."

This great wall enclosed the seven hills of Rome, which before this time had each been separately fortified. These hills, known as the *Septimontium*, by means of the Pons Sublicius were connected with the Janiculum on the opposite side of the Tiber, which is said to have been already fortified by Ancus Martius, 640–616 B. C.

Recent excavations have made many disclosures concerning the Servian Wall and its gates, which aid us, not only in locating this fortification, but in verifying facts that were not absolutely demonstrated previously, and correcting errors that had been made for want of these very landmarks. For a short distance on the Tiber there was a massive embankment built of the great blocks of tufa seen in all ancient Roman masonry, which was pierced by the exits of the Cloaca Maxima and other lesser sewers. A new river embankment now hides this original wall, and the ancient Pons Cestius, or Ponte Rotto, from which one formerly had a view of these antiquities, has given place to what Middleton calls "a hideous iron bridge."

It was near this old bridge that the Wall of Servius began and ran inland to the Capitoline Hill. In this short distance

FRAGMENTS OF THE WALL OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

over the plain there were three gates. The *Porta Flumentana* was on the river; the site of the *Porta Triumphalis* is not known; and the *Porta Carmentalis* was at the foot of the Capitoline. The Triumphal Gate was rarely used, and the others connected the Forum Boarium with the Campus Martius in a crowded portion of Rome. Near the Porta Flumentana three temples were set close together, some remains of which still exist, and portions of them are built into the walls of S. Nicolo in Carcere.

By the Porta Carmentalis stood an altar to *Juno Juga*, the patroness of marriage, from which the street known as the *Vicus Jugarius* took its name; this street connected the Porta Carmentalis with the Via Sacra.

As the Capitoline Hill was already fortified, the Servian Wall joined the former circuit. Some bits of the older wall are still to be seen on the Capitoline; that on the rock above the Mamertine prison is an excellent example of prehistoric masonry, as this may be called. The Porta Ratumena — from which the Flaminian Way left the city — pierced the Servian Wall just where it left the Capitoline. This gate is said to have been named for a charioteer whose horses ran away from the races at Veii and only stopped when they reached this spot, where the car was overturned and the driver killed. This gate had not been excavated a few months ago, but in these days so much is done in this direction that one is never sure of what may happen in any given month or week; and some remains of it had already been discovered under a house in the Via di Marforio. Near this is the tomb of Bibulus, now built into the wall of a house. It dates from the first century B. C., and its inscription states that the land was given to Bibulus by the Senate on account of his honour and virtue. Other tombs that were just here have been removed to make way for the steps and platform of the equestrian statue of Vittorio Emmanuele.

The Servian Wall, between the Capitoline and the Quirinal Hill, was cut away by Trajan when he built his Forum, as already related; but after the Forum is passed, there are slight remains of the wall in the Colonna gardens, and not far away is the site of the *Porta Fontinalis*. A small piece of the wall has been preserved in the centre of the new Via Nazionale; and near at hand, on the right of the court of the Palazzo Antonelli, is the archway supposed to be the Porta Fontinalis, although it is small to have been a principal gate in the Servian Wall.

There is a disagreement of opinion among those who study these matters deeply, regarding this old arch.

At all events, it is very curious and interesting in its present modern surroundings, for it makes, apparently, a portion of the interior wall; two steps, covered with carpet, are under it, and these are continued beyond it by the staircase to the first floor of the palace. The walls on either side of it are decorated with modern stucco and paint, in the midst of which this arch, made of great tufa blocks, which at the first sight reveal its antiquity, has the appearance of an architectural ghost that has lost its way and is not altogether at ease in its surroundings.

In 1866 the position of the *Porta Sanqualis*, also on the Quirinal, was determined; it was between the Trevi fountain and the Quirinal Palace, and from this gate the wall passed under the palace and across the Quirinal Gardens. No traces of it have been found between the Quirinal and the gardens of the Barberini Palace, where a small piece is disclosed; a short distance beyond this was the *Porta Salutaris*. In and near the Villa Barberini, extensive remains of the Servian Wall were found and destroyed, and the beautiful grounds which surrounded this villa have been cut into building lots and sold. From this point the Servian Wall passed under the new Palazzo delle Finanze, in laying the foundation of which the site of the interesting Porta Collina was discovered.

This was one of the chief gates of Rome, and was also called *Quirinalis*, or *Agonalis*. I have spoken of it in connection with the Campus Sceleratus and the punishment of the Vestals; it was also the gate most liable to attack from enemies, as here the Servian Wall crossed a level plain, where it was easier to manage an army than on the hills; these were much more steep in ancient days than at present, as the depressions between them have been gradually filled up.

In 360 B. C., the Gauls made an attack here, as did Sulla

in 88 B. C.; and six years later it was the scene of a fierce and bloody contest, when the Democrats and Samnites, fired by a desire for revenge, attacked Rome, virtually burning their bridges behind them, since in case of their defeat they could not hope to find a line of retreat. They were defeated, and Rome saved from a fearful peril, by Sulla and his army, who drew up in line of battle before the Colline gate after midday, although his soldiers were just off a forced march. The fight lasted all night and well into the next morning; and had not three thousand of the besieging army deserted to the side of the Romans, the strife could not have been ended even then.

But Rome was not destined to fall into the hands of the Samnites; between three and four thousand prisoners were held by the Romans, among whom were three generals. On the third day they were all massacred in the Campus Martius, their groans being plainly heard by Sulla and the Senate, just then in session in the Temple of Bellona.

Mommsen says of this slaughter "it was a ghastly execution, and it ought not to be excused; but it is not right to forget that those very men who perished there had fallen like a band of robbers on the capital and the burgesses, and, had they found time, would have destroyed them as far as fire and a sword can destroy a city and its citizens." It was near this gate, too, that Hannibal encamped when all that he accomplished was the throwing of a javelin over the walls, and then, his courage failing him, he marched away.

From the Porta Collina to the southern point of the Esquiline Hill, the city limit passed over a plain for a long distance and seemed to require some better protection than a wall alone could afford, and here was constructed that wonder of Rome, a combined ditch and great bank called an *Agger*. The ditch was one hundred feet wide and thirty feet deep; and the earth dug out from this ditch was heaped up in a

bank, held in place between two walls, that on the front being more massive than the other.

A road ran along the bottom of the ditch and another on its top border. The Agger, or bank, has been dug away, and the ditch filled up; but from time to time, when excavations are made, sufficient remains of it are found to prove that the accounts of Dionysius, Strabo, and Livy have not exaggerated its importance, and to establish its claim to be added to the list of the remarkable achievements of Roman engineering.

HANNIBAL.

The *Porta Viminalis* and the *Porta Esquilina* were in the Agger. Beyond this, across the Esquiline Hill and the valley of the Colosseum the course of the Servian Wall is not so well known as in the portions we have traced; but in the valley of the Circus Maximus the Porta Capena, or "the damp gate," — as it was called from the leaking of the aqueduct above it, — has been discovered. Cicero says, "When, going out of the Porta Capena, you behold the tombs of the Calatinii, the Scipiones, the Servilii, the Metelii, can you commiserate them?" Thus we see

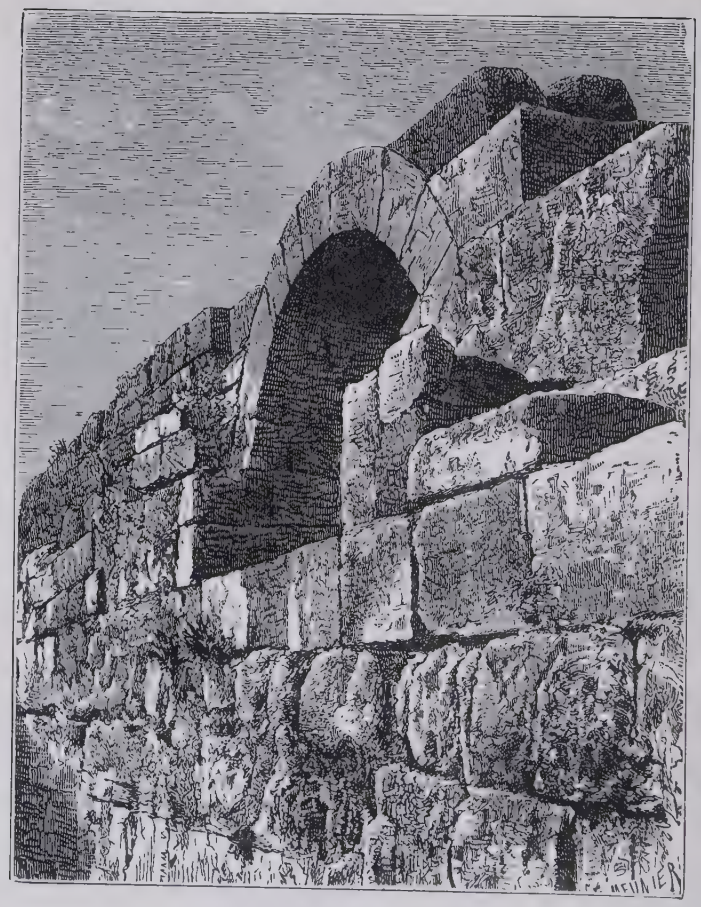
that, even in the time of Cicero, this gate, the Via Appia which issued from it, and the tombs which lined the ancient road were venerable.

Several temples were near the Capena gate; two dedicated to Mars, and one to Honour and Valour. Concerning the latter the priests raised a difficulty, objecting that two deities could not be placed in one apartment; as, in that case, should the temple be burned by lightning, or any other serious calamity befall it, no one could tell to which god the evil should be attributed. To meet this objection, a second chamber was built for Valour. Query, if the temple were burned with the two chambers, to which deity should the evil be attributed?

From the Porta Capena the Servian Wall proceeded to the Aventine, on which hill there are some fine remains of the fortification: one piece, near the church of S. Balbina, shows eleven courses of stones; another is twenty-five courses high and is pierced by a fine arch, at no great distance from the Baths of Caracalla. Under the Aventine the wall reached the Tiber, and thus completed its circuit. Ancient authors mention other gates, but these must have opened, not to the outside, but from certain forts into the city.

The grand old fortification of the Servian Wall and its forts proved sufficient to the needs of Rome during five centuries. The fame of it discouraged the enemies of the Romans from attempting to pass its line, and outside it they could hope to effect little towards the conquest of the city it protected. Hannibal, bolder than other generals, flushed with his victories, and urged on by the remembrance of his oath of eternal hostility to the Romans, sat down with his army before this wall, and was wise enough to turn his back upon it.

Small as the city was within its circuit, the Romans confined themselves there until this great Carthaginian was overcome, and they could dictate terms to him and to his nation. Then they began to build their beautiful villas, make their gardens, and reach out beyond this old protector, which soon became



WALL OF THE AVENTINE.

an obstacle in the way of the "modern improvements" of the second century B. C. They built over it and even demolished parts of it; while other portions were so covered that it would have been impossible to trace its course even in the first half-century of the Empire.

Dionysius, writing in the first century B. C., says that the Servian Wall was "hard to find."

Now, however, the excavations, the laying of new foundations, and the various changes of the last twenty-five years having revealed much of Rome that was hidden, there are more than thirty places where portions of the Servian Wall are visible; and at certain points, as on the Viminal Hill, just beyond the area devoted to the railway station and its many tracks, there stands a fine specimen of the wall, more than three hundred feet long, and in some parts thirty feet high, which will be preserved. It has been enclosed with a fence for its protection; and it would seem that only a great convulsion of nature can topple it over even now, when almost twenty-five centuries have elapsed since its building. Parts of it can scarcely be called a ruin; so perfect are the lines of its reddish-brown stone that it might be newly laid, and where it has sunk down it would seem to have been from some unusual cause, probably an earthquake.

From the irregular line of its top, tufts of grasses wave, growing, no doubt, from seeds carried there by the birds to whom it affords so secure a perch. As one looks on this splendid monument to Servius Tullius and reflects upon what Rome was in his day, and how much his wall has done to preserve it and aid in its growth and progress, this old Etruscan seems to stand out beside his noble work, — a giant, his great head reaching as high as the topmost stone that we see.

The Romans were very skilful in the use of concrete; and the period at which it was introduced has been considered of a later date than the regal period; but large masses of concrete used as a backing to the Servian Wall, to give it great solidity, seem to prove that its use was well established in the sixth century B. C., and this instance is one of the earliest known. The Roman concrete walls were immensely strong; and in the work of destruction which has

levelled so many antiquities, it has been far more difficult to demolish the concrete than the stone walls. In fact, it is like quarrying stone to break up the "perfectly coherent mass of strength" which this ancient concrete proves to be.

When laid in substructures and other places where it was concealed, the concrete only was used; but wherever it was seen, as in the walls of the houses, etc., it was faced in various ways, and very generally covered with stucco after being faced. This seems entirely unnecessary, since the stucco would adhere to the rough concrete so readily; but after it had been faced it was necessary to provide a "key" for the stucco, which was done at great cost and labour by driving large nails all over the wall, or by drilling holes, into which marble plugs were inserted — or, not infrequently, by both nails and marble plugs.

The most ancient facing was called *opus incertum*, which was made with irregular pieces of tufa, three or four inches in size and rough on the back, studded over the concrete wall and filled in with concrete, which thus framed each bit of stone; few examples of this exist. The *opus reticulatum*, so named from its resemblance to a net, came into fashion before the Christian era, and was generally used until the time of Hadrian, and is one of the means of dating the structures on which it is found. It resembles the earlier process except that the pieces of stone are carefully cut of one-sized square, with good edges, so that they can be set closely together, leaving but a narrow line for the concrete between. This makes a very pleasing effect, as may still be seen in the "House of Germanicus," on the Palatine, and in the "House of Mæcenas," where this facing is left with no addition of brick. The concrete was also faced with brick; but as for a long period bricks were unburnt, these have disappeared, and the ancient brick walls remaining are really concrete walls, with a thin facing of brick. Concrete walls required the support of a wooden framing, and

thus the building of what in the result appears to be a simple brick wall was an affair of much labour and expense. At the end of the third century of the present era, the *opus mixtum* came into use, and is a facing of triangular-shaped bricks with bands of tufa blocks at regular intervals. In the modern repairs of ancient edifices and walls, rectangular bricks have been used, which enables one to distinguish between ancient and modern bricks, as the former were triangular. The best brick facings were made about 200 A. D., and soon after that began to decline as a rule, although there are occasional exceptions later, in which the work was neat, regular, and well set in excellent mortar, as may be seen in certain portions of the Wall of Aurelian, dating about 275 A. D.

From the fall of Carthage in 146 B. C. to the end of the third century of our era, the condition of Rome was such, and her power so great, that she gave less heed to her defences than had been necessary in the regal period. But after 250 A. D., she was in danger from the northern barbarians who, two centuries later, became her masters in spite of her walls and fortifications. It was principally as a safeguard against the Goths that Aurelian entered upon the vast undertaking of building walls around the enormous circuit of the city and partly around the Transtiberine suburb.

This wall, completed in the reign of Probus, 276–282 A. D., has been restored and repaired from time to time by emperors and popes, the last important restorations occurring in 1749 under the direction of Benedict XIV. Its greatest length, including the walls of the Vatican and the Trastevere, is about twelve and a half miles. Arcadius and Honorius, 395–425 A. D., strengthened the wall by adding a number of gate-towers; an inscription from one of these can be easily examined outside the Porta Maggiore, where it is set up against the side of the road, it having been taken down during changes made here in 1838.

The unknown writer of the Einsiedeln manuscript of the ninth century, and quaint old William of Malmesbury of the eleventh, give minute descriptions of this wall, with its fourteen gates, which still exist.

The earlier of these writers tells of three hundred and eighty-three towers, the later of but three hundred and sixty-two. Most of these towers have been cut down; but a short time ago there were still two or three near the site of the Ludovisi Gardens, which gardens have been destroyed. These towers were nearly perfect, with the stairs leading to them and the upper chambers in them. I hope to see them again, but one cannot count on finding friendly old landmarks in the present Rome; each time that I go there, I find it less and less like my Rome of forty years ago, and so much more commonplace!

The wall and towers were built of tufa concrete, mixed with bricks, faced with the ancient thin triangular bricks, making a beautiful wall; as may still be seen in parts where the original portions remain. Between the towers the curtain wall averages twelve feet in thickness, in which is a sentinel's walk all round the city. This passage is open on the inside of the wall, by means of tall semicircular arches, six between each pair of towers, a distance of about forty-five feet. The floor of the sentinel's walk was ten feet above the ground on the inside of the wall. As the wall was frequently built on the edge of a slope, it was lower on the outside, the difference sometimes amounting to twenty feet; that is to say, when forty feet high on the inside, it would be sixty feet above ground on the outside. Arched doorways opened from the sides of the towers to the top of the wall, by which means soldiers could walk continuously over the top of the sentinel's walk, all around the walls. The towers projected beyond the wall on the back of the tower, which afforded a flank attack on an enemy when endeavouring to batter the wall. Each tower was divided into three

stories, narrow stairs winding up to its top. All along the sentinel's walk and in the towers were narrow slits for shooting on an enemy; and originally the top of the wall was defended by a battlement parapet, which has almost entirely

A SAMNITE WARRIOR.

disappeared. The sentinel's walk was placed so high as not to weaken the wall, which was of solid concrete below it; and where it would take away from the strength it was too high to be reached by battering-rams.

The towers had windows on the inside; these were arched; and three of them, each three feet and ten inches in width, opened into the lowest chamber.

These towers must have been quite cosey and comfortable places in peaceful days, and not especially unsafe in times of war, with the then existing methods of attack. All this arrangement of towers, sentinel's walk, etc., can best be seen as mentioned above near the Ludovisi site and near the Lateran Gate from the basilica to the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*.

An interesting feature of the Aurelian Wall is the various edifices and structures which are taken in and converted into a part of these fortifications in an original and surprising manner. It would seem that, a certain course for the wall being in mind, it was followed at any cost; and each obstacle in its course was included in the wall and fortified accordingly. Going to the right from the Porta del Popolo, the first example of this kind is seen in what Procopius called "the broken wall," known in Rome as the *Muro torto*, the remains of a lofty building probably dating from the middle of the first century B. C. It is faced with *opus reticulatum* of fine execution; and from its height and thickness of wall, must have been an edifice of importance, but by whom built, or for what intended, has never been discovered. Procopius relates that when Belisarius proposed to pull down the Muro torto, in order to strengthen the fortification, the people made such opposition that he gave up the idea. This opposition arose from a tradition that Saint Peter protected this part of the wall; and as the Barbarians never attacked it, it came to be regarded with such veneration that it has never been disturbed.

In the present century a large part of this interesting old wall, with its fine facing and its niches, has been covered with a stuccoed wall along the eastern side of the Pincian Gardens; the portion still visible is so interesting that one is inclined to agree with Middleton when he calls its concealment "an utterly needless piece of barbarism."

Coming to the Prætorian camp walls, Aurelian raised them to more than three times their previous height, destroyed

the towers of the gate, which he closed and otherwise fortified to suit the purposes of his wall, in which the camp walls were henceforth included.

Taking in the arches of the triple aqueduct and the wall of a great reservoir, he passed to the Claudian Aqueduct, many piers of which he imbedded in his wall, and soon included the *Amphitheatrum Castrense* in such a manner that a large portion of the curved arcades of this soldier's amphitheatre was visible outside the walls. He then built up the open arches and otherwise strengthened it to render it an effective means of defence, like the wall on each side of it; just here is a well-preserved piece of this famous wall, with its inner arches and sentinel's passage in complete preservation.

Reaching the *Domus Laterana*, he destroyed a portion of that structure which extended too far beyond his line to suit his purpose; and even as he left it, one angle projected considerably beyond the wall. In the upper part of the existing wall of this house are rows of arched windows and corbels above them which doubtless supported projecting battlements; another portion of the same wall has buttress-like pilasters. It must have been originally a very strong wall; and the additions made in order to suit it to the Aurelian Wall rendered it quite impregnable.

When the basilica of the Lateran was built, the portion of the Lateran villa which had not been included in the wall was destroyed; and in 1880, when the new apse of the basilica was building, the mosaic pavements and a portion of the walls of the old house were exposed to view.

A portion of the gates on the line of this wall have been closed; and of those still in use I do not propose to speak in detail as I have done in the case of the more ancient wall, which encircled the smaller Rome, but I cannot pass the Appian Gate, the finest of those existing, without mention. It is thought to be of the time of Honorius, 395–425 A. D.; and its blocks of fine white marble were probably taken from

some older building, it may be from the Temple of Mars, near the Porta Capena, on the outside. On the keystone of the inner arch is an inscription in Greek and a cross within a circle. The inscription is, "Mercy, Saint Konon, Saint George." On one of the jambs is a figure of Saint Michael and Satan; this is incised with an inscription which records a conflict that occurred at this gate.

Portions of other old buildings, archways, and columns, the history of which cannot be given, are included in the wall, which here projects outwardly, having the Porta Appia and the Porta Latina in its most extended portion.

It is believed that this diversion from the more direct line was made in order to include the Baths of Caracalla, and the very populous quarter which existed just here, within the circuit of defence. Between the Appian and the Ostian gates a piece of the ancient part of the wall remains, which is well preserved on the inside, but is curiously patched and restored on the exterior. Unfortunately much harm is being done to these walls from their having been undermined when the modern road which passes around a large part of the walls of Rome was made. This Via del Muro is cut below the line of the foundations, which leaves the soft tufa of which they consist exposed, greatly to its injury.

The *Porta Ostiensis* is an especially handsome gate, and well preserved. It is flanked by circular towers, battlemented and brickfaced; there are several arched windows in the top story, and above one of them a cross let into the facing denotes that the Emperor Honorius was the builder of this gate. The central portion of the gate-wall, through which the archway is pierced, is also battlemented; and the supports and grooves for a portcullis are all plainly seen. The wall between this and the neighbouring Pyramid of C. Cestius, and a long piece of wall on the other side of the pyramid, are both excellent specimens of the fortification with all the rows of internal arches.

Of all the structures which Aurelian included in his wall, this pyramid appears most appropriately placed and best suited to the purpose. It is a venerable object, and dates from the latter part of the first century B. C. It is like an Egyptian pyramid, measuring ninety-six feet at its base, and one hundred and eighteen feet in height. It is built of concrete and faced with blocks of marble, originally white. The sepulchral chamber, in the centre of the pyramid, is small, lined with white stucco and decorated with paintings which were in good condition when the tomb was opened in 1663, but are now almost destroyed by dampness and smoke. They represented female figures with vases and candelabra.

On two of the marble faces are well-cut inscriptions, which record that C. Cestius Poblicius, a prætor, a tribune of the plebs, and one of the *Septemviri* of the *Epulones*, provided in his will that this pyramid should be erected in three hundred and thirty days, by his heir and one of his freedmen, which was accordingly done.

The Epulones were priests who managed the banquets in honour of the gods; in 196 B. C., there were but three of these dignified officials, the number being later increased to seven. Two pedestals were found near the pyramid at the time of the opening of the sepulchral chamber; and the inscriptions on them give all the information that the world thus far possesses concerning C. Cestius, beyond that of the inscriptions on the pyramid itself.

Here we learn that he died in the lifetime of M. Agrippa, who lived until 12 B. C. It is also related that C. Cestius desired to be buried in his robes of *attalica*, or cloth of gold. This being contrary to Roman law, his heirs sold the robes and erected, on these pedestals, two bronze statues with the proceeds of the cloth of gold, which must have been very rich and valuable, as a foot of one of the statues which still adheres to the pedestal is of colossal size. This pedestal is in the bronze room of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

This pyramid, the only one left in Rome, is like a memorial of the Roman conquest of Egypt and the consequent admiration for Egyptian art which prevailed for a time in Rome. I love this pyramid, and rejoice that it is so unlike all other Roman monuments, because it has the distinction of standing as a sentinel above the grave of Keats, which is within its shadow in the old Protestant cemetery of which the poet Shelley wrote: "The cemetery is an open space among the ruins, covered in winter with violets and daisies. It might make one in love with death to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place."

And Shelley himself was soon sleeping here, near by him whose elegy he had written in the immortal "Adonais," on that "green slope near the walls, under the pyramidal tomb of Cestius, and, as I think, the most beautiful and solemn cemetery I ever beheld."

Another monument to the excellence of Roman engineers and the endurance of their work exists in the sewers, the Cloaca Maxima, and the great network of smaller drains. The sewer which has always been and still is called the "Greatest" is not the largest in Rome by actual measure, as has been discovered in recent years. But its venerable age of twenty-five centuries and its continued usefulness make it a wonder to the world; and it is now possible for those who desire, to examine it for a distance of two hundred and thirty yards without difficulty. Pliny's account of the sewers I have often read; and it is as good a description of them to-day as when he wrote it, though we can add so many centuries to the seven that he mentioned as having passed since their completion. He speaks of the seven streams which are compressed into one in the Cloaca Maxima, and describes the effect of a storm, when, by the increase of the water in this great sewer, the current is so strong and so like a torrent that the walls of all edifices near which it passes are absolutely shaken. His admiration of the

PYRAMID OF CESTIUS.

strength of the masonry of which the sewers are built was extreme, when it resisted not only the power of the streams within, but also occasional earthquakes, as well as the heavy objects which fell upon them in times of conflagrations, when whole edifices toppled over. He exclaims indignantly at what he considers the general lack of appreciation of these marvels, and calls the Cloaca Maxima "a monument of antiquity which ought to be the more carefully noticed, since it has been passed over in silence by some of our most celebrated historians."

Pliny would be comforted in the present day, in which the neglect of the ancient authors to whom he refers is fully atoned for, since the admiration of all writers on Rome for these great and enduring works is as pronounced as his own.

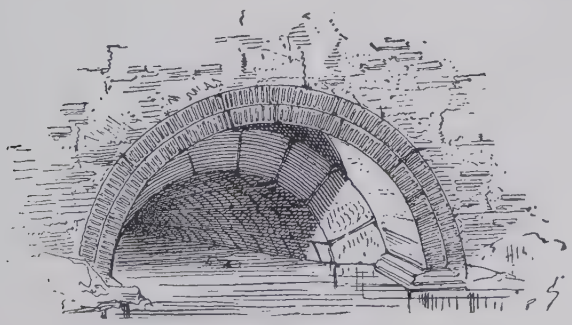
The historian Vopiscus relates the following anecdote:

"After the ceremonies of the festival of Cybele, the prefect of the city, Junius Tiberianus, took me in his chariot from the Palatine to the gardens of Varus; and we talked, among other things, of the history of the emperors. When we came to the Temple of the Sun, dedicated by Aurelian, Tiberianus, who belonged to the family of this Emperor, asked me if any one had written his life. 'Certain Greeks have done it,' I said, 'but no Latins.' 'What!' exclaimed this upright man, 'a Thersites, a Sinon, and all the monsters of antiquity are known to us, posterity will also know them, and Aurelian, this valiant emperor who has restored the world to Rome, will be to our descendants a stranger!' Meanwhile we have his Ephemerides, in which he ordered to be registered his acts day by day. I will cause these books, which are in the Ulpian Library, to be given you, that you may represent Aurelian as he was."

Vopiscus proceeded to write the life for which he certainly had rich materials; but in spite of this and of his acquaintance with the friends of Aurelian, how many things were omitted that we long to know! Can it be possible that in this record of the acts of Aurelian day by day, there was no mention of the men who executed his great schemes? Was there no engineer or architect among all who served

him who was spoken of in his diaries? And so in connection with all the enormous works of the Eternal City. Who were the men who could build the road and aqueduct of Appius Claudius? the walls and gates of Aurelian? Perhaps it would be too much to ask that the engineers of the regal period should be known, although the result of their labours has been inestimable and quite beyond telling to the millions of their beneficiaries; but in the third century of our era, when, as Tiberianus said, the names of the most unworthy were recorded for our instruction, why should the names of these great engineers and architects be buried beyond all resurrection?

I have somewhere read of a Roman who, when dying, gave his friend certain skilled slaves who could plan and perfect such works as their master might desire; but apparently they had no names, and we know only of those in whose day and with whose money the great Roman works were constructed; to whom the resulting honours have been given throughout the ages. Just as it would be were the painting of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel always attributed to the glory of Pope Julius II. and the name of Michael Angelo were totally unknown; or the honour of the erection of Saint Peter's conferred upon the various popes under whom it was begun and carried to completion, and the name of no architect mentioned in connection with it.



CLOACA MAXIMA.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROMAN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

IT would be difficult to picture a less attractive life than that of the early Romans. The man, the head of the family, was its sovereign lord; and his creed of life was very narrow. To be courageous, energetic, firm, and patiently laborious, were the demands he made upon himself. He respected the gods, his country, and his family, which included his ancestors, who, though dead, still made claims upon his pious remembrance and service; while to law and established discipline he was obedient and submissive.

A PLOUGHMAN.

Cicero exclaims, "Where else is to be found that severity of manners, that firmness, that greatness of soul, that uprightness, that good faith, and all the virtues of our fathers?"

This simple and even austere life was confined to no class: the wealthy, and, indeed, royal houses, were hives of industry; the men ploughed and the women spun, and there were no leisure days. Cato, when praising this devotion to labour, suggests that "on feast-days one can cut brambles, trim hedges, wash the flock, go to the city to sell oil and fruits." Even in this land of superstitions, he did not approve of a farmer who left his work to consult the augurs and soothsayers; the gods of the hearth and the cross-roads should be sufficient for him.

Cato further teaches that the father of a family must make money out of everything; indeed, usury was almost a curse upon the Romans, and so niggardly were they that hospitality was scarcely known. Thick hedges and broad ditches made the approach to the home most forbidding; and on one day in the year only, the New Year's Day, were gifts and good wishes in order. The detail in the instructions which Cato gave so soberly is curious. "The father of a family," he says, "must make money of everything, and lose nothing. If he gives new brooms to his slaves, they must return the old ones; they will do for pieces. He must sell the oil if it is worth anything, and what remains of the wine and wheat; he must sell oxen, calves, old carriages, old iron, old slaves, and sick ones; he must sell always. The father of the family must be a seller, not a buyer!"

It is the head of the family alone who has a will; he only communicates with the gods; he alone is priest and ruler. He may condemn his wife to death; he may kill his deformed child and sell the perfect one, and the lives of his slaves are in his hands. Though his son has come to a goodly age and to honours, he may still take his life, as did the father of the Senator among the accomplices of Catiline. In short, the father of the Roman family could not only rule his household while living, but he could make them miserable when dead, having the power to will his property as he chose. But fortunately his will was submitted to the Curiæ, and could be set aside by them; and they did not favour a will which left an estate away from the family.

In this condition of society the woman was always under a master; her father and husband ruled her completely, and, when a widow, her nearest male relative was her strict guardian. When the betrothed maiden had tasted the symbolic cake, passed beneath a yoke, put an *as* in the balance on the Penates, and declared herself as Gaia wherever her husband was Gaius, she belonged to him, herself and her dowry,

as completely as did his ox and his slave. At the same time, the woman had her privileges and was respected: the mother was the one woman of the house; there was no polygamy, and she shared her husband's honours; she sacrificed to the Penates; and if he was a flamen, she became a priestess, while the stola, which she wore when she left her home, commanded respect for her.

Marriage was regarded but as a means of giving children to the state, and descendants to the ancestors, who would perpetuate the rites of the hearth. If a family came to an end, it was not spoken of with tenderness for those who had died, but as "a hearth extinguished."

A WOMAN SPINNING.

While Roman law did not establish primogeniture, the absolute power of the father permitted him to give the eldest son greater advantages than his brothers inherited; but if the father left no will, all the children shared alike.

These early Romans were melancholy and calculating. They seem to have had no youth; the sentiment of duty — stern and hard though it be — was the controlling power, and the practice of obedience of the Roman type fitted a man to command when his time came.

The Roman was not a man to stand still. He was quick to see an advantage, and equally quick to profit by it, and the acquirement of wealth soon led to greater relaxation. As early as the third century before the Christian era,

there was a growing luxury and a freedom of expenditure at Rome, which must have been an agony to the Manes of the parsimonious ancestors who were supposed to be still cognisant of the lives of their descendants.

Temples were built and images set up as a means of gaining public favour; works of art — all of foreign production — decorated the houses and tombs of individuals as well as the temples of the gods. And indeed, with the wealth consequent upon the Punic and other wars, with the knowledge of Oriental luxury, and the study of Greek philosophy, Roman manners were so changed that the comparatively few conservatives who survived were regarded as far from commendable, and rarely found any to emulate their example.

With the advent of luxury and the change of manners, Roman morals were also modified. When divorce was first introduced, it caused great indignation; and Carvilius Ruga, already mentioned, who put away his wife in 233 B. C., must have been a brave man, although he swore before the censors that his sole reason for the act was her barrenness. But the first step having been taken, the custom became so familiar as to cause no remark; and as time went on, the great men of Rome, and those most honoured, were frequently most given to the habit of putting away and taking wives.

Plutarch says that Cicero divorced Terentia because he desired a new dowry; Augustus compelled the husband of Livia to divorce her but a short time before the birth of her child, that he might marry her. Seneca says that Mæcenas continually changed his wives. Martial tells of a woman who was living with her tenth husband; we hear of another who had eight husbands in five years; and Saint Jerome declares that a couple existed in Rome, the husband being the twenty-third of the woman, he having had twenty-one wives. These extreme cases prove how lightly divorce was estimated, while they do not imply the absence of virtuous and faithful husbands and wives.

With the relaxation of social and civil customs came a disregard of religious observances. The Roman religion had ever been one of interested individualism. It taught neither creeds nor morals. Men dealt with the deities as with their fellow-men. They could buy and sell with them; to influence a god to change his mind by some gift or sacrifice was the constant endeavour of those who affected respect for religion.

ROMAN MATRON.

The gods had so often disappointed hopes, and failed to perform what was expected of them, that faith was no longer the power it had once been; and the priests, perfectly apprehending this, greatly mitigated the severity of their demands, as well as their imperious tone in making them. Ennius expressed a general opinion when he said, "No doubt I believe that the gods exist, but they scarcely trouble themselves about this world." The auguries were abandoned to the plebeians; and many men committed the care of the sacrifices to their slaves.

Meantime, foreign divinities were introduced, and great numbers of Romans were devoted to the service of Apollo, — not as the inspirer of poetry, but as a practical deity who would ward off diseases! It was in his office of "the god who saves" that a temple was dedicated to him outside the gates, — as he was a foreign deity, — and the Apollinarian games instituted in his honour. Apollo was but one of the borrowed divinities in whose service the Romans sought for something more than their own gods gave them.

In primitive Rome, when agriculture was the chief pursuit, the day was divided as has been customary with farmers in all ages and all lands: early rising and labour until the heat of the day, a nooning, another time for work, supper, and early to bed, was the order of all days except holidays, and these were observed without dissipation. But all this was gradually changed; and as the maxim that he who could should shun the life of slaves, gained followers, the upper classes cultivated the most artificial habits, and instituted many customs which now obtain in fashionable life in all countries. The Roman was, however, fond of early rising; and the schools, courts, and shops were opened betimes, while the meetings of the Senate, and voting on election days, began early and continued until sunset. The Roman was abstemious, too, taking a simple first meal, a plain but hearty dinner, a midday sleep, and a wholesome supper, both in town and country life; it was not until late in what we term "the time of the Romans" that the inconceivable eating and drinking that I shall relate came into vogue.

The great event of the day to the Roman was his bath; and much time was spent in the luxurious establishments already described, as well as in the porticoes, gardens, libraries, etc., where he met and gossiped with friends of both sexes.

At the principal meal of the day, after wealth and luxury had changed the personal habits of the upper classes, there

were many customs which are still observed. The great difference between then and now at the dinner-table was in the position of the men, who reclined on couches and had but one hand at command. The tables were usually square, and the couches were on but three sides, leaving the fourth clear for convenience in serving. At one period round tables were in use and were enormously costly, being made of the rarest woods, and supported by pedestals of solid ivory. The couches were covered in rich stuffs and mounted on silver feet; the cushions on which the men leaned were in beautiful colours; the walls of the room were frequently hung with rich embroideries; and in houses where the greatest elegance prevailed, the ceilings were so made that through openings flowers were scattered on the tables, perfumed sprays delicately showered, and even gifts for the guests dropped down before them. Napkins were in use much earlier than tablecloths; indeed, the guests sometimes brought their own, their method of eating making them absolutely requisite.

The sideboards, decorated with gold, silver, and glass, were equivalent to those of the present; while the butlers and other attendants performed the same duties as now.

One especial feature of the Roman table was the massive silver salt-cellar. This was in the centre of the table at each meal, — a custom not confined to any class; and a man was very badly off who did not have this one piece in silver. There was a religious significance attached to the salt-cellar, which contained the sacrificial cakes offered to the Lares, as well as the salt.

The carving was done at the side-table, and the dinner served in courses. An elegant dinner was divided into three parts, each one consisting of several dishes. The first division was made up of a great variety of *hors d'œuvres*, and was intended to excite the appetite; the second part comprised the more solid dishes of the feast, and was again

divided into three parts. Much of the food was highly seasoned. The fish was served with an imported sauce, made with salt water, and very costly. Some dishes were extremely hot, others almost frozen. After the great variety of this portion of the dinner had been served, there was a pause, during which the sacrificial cakes were offered to the Lares.

The dessert, or last course, consisted of pastry, confectionery, and fruits, as in our day; and until after this had been served, but little wine was taken. If the Greek customs were followed, the diners were now crowned with garlands and perfumed; the wine was served from a large vessel and ladled out by the servants, and the feast was often enlivened by musicians, dancers, and pantomimists. Such an occasion as this was quite different from the late suppers of the ultra-luxurious, which were essentially drinking bouts, and frequently ended in most indecent revels.

GOLD-BEATER.

The table furniture of the Romans, as has been already mentioned, was largely of gold and silver, and very massive; even jewelled vessels were not uncommon. There were also certain objects of great delicacy and beauty; this was especially true of the wine-cups, which were made in several shapes, usually quite shallow, having double handles.

These were used during the meal, and later, after dessert, were replaced by *cyathi*, with single handles, and frequently of exquisite workmanship.

It was probably poverty, rather than any exalted principle, that induced the simplicity and austerity of life of the early Romans, which has been so often praised and held up as an example worthy of imitation.

Do not all nations — our own as well as others — live simply and make a virtue of it until wealth increases? And what people do not forego simplicity when this increase enables them to be luxurious? Already in the first half of the second century B. C., Cato wrote, "See this Roman! he descends from his chariot, he pirouettes, he recites buffooneries and jokes and vile stories, then sings or declaims Greek verses, and then resumes his pirouettes."

"Most of the Romans," says Polybius, "live in strange dissipation. The young allow themselves to be carried away in the most shameful excesses. They are given to shows, to feasts, to luxury and disorder of every kind, which it is too evident they have learned from the Greeks during the war with Perseus."

Not only so, but men who a few decades earlier would have scorned to give attention to such matters, now rivalled each other in inventing new dishes, and put in counter-claims to the distinction of having discovered strange combinations and seasonings which commended themselves to high livers. Having first served peacocks at his table was an honour gravely claimed and much prized by Hortensius; while many Romans of this class were famous for having originated other equally unimportant customs.

Poems were written on the art of good eating, in which were introduced lists of all sorts of esteemed edibles. The prices paid for certain fishes and vegetables were almost past belief, while the costly wines of Greece were soon much in fashion. A barrel of anchovies from Pontus cost eighty

dollars; and when a man had obtained such a prize, he made a supper at a large additional expense. Much wine was provided; the drinking was followed by gambling, with which the government was forced to interfere. These feasts, which were also enlivened with such songs and other entertainments as cannot be decently described, rapidly demoralised the young Romans who affected them.

What horror must have possessed the souls of Cato and the large class of men who believed with him, as they saw the beginning of the end in this complete change of thought and life! In spite of Cato's severity, he appeals to us and excites our admiration. He was ambitious to make the most of himself, and was active as a statesman, advocate, and author. Yet he declared that it was better to be a good husband than a great senator. What must he have thought of the increasing frequency of divorce and the trivial excuses upon which it was often based?

He loved his children intensely, and watched over them with great faithfulness. He declared himself to be as careful of his language in the presence of his children as if they were all Vestal Virgins; and he never embraced their mother in the presence of his daughters except when she was in terror from a thunder-storm!

Cato even came to the conclusion that the time had come when a Roman should be more than a farmer. He was unwilling to give a slave authority over his son, as a teacher, although this was the accepted custom with Roman patricians.

Therefore Cato fitted himself to teach his son all that he considered it proper or necessary for him to study. He laid the foundation with instruction in Roman law, after the boy had learned to read and write. In his literary work he had his son constantly in mind, and in reality wrote historical books for the boy's benefit, using large, distinct letters, all of which he did with his own hand. Quite late in life he

gave his attention to Hellenic culture and persevered in that study until he was able to give to his son in Latin whatever he considered it best for him to know of Greek authors.

When we consider the degeneracy of the Romans under foreign influences, this old burgess stands out in bold and admirable contrast to the Romanised Greek indolence and immorality, which apparently hesitated at no indecencies, and ere long at no crimes; when poisoning became a quick and easy remedy for the inconveniences and disagreements in families of the highest station.

The great change in the position of women, coming suddenly as it did, without a proper education, either moral or intellectual, wrought a complete revolution in their life and manners, which was in many ways most undesirable. Wishing to manage their own estates, they made mock marriages in order to free themselves from guardians, and committed many questionable acts when already legally married. Cato thought that in public affairs they were too powerful and aspired "to rule the rulers of the world." In some Roman provinces public statues were erected to women, and much flattery lavished on them.

The dress and ornaments of the Roman ladies became unreasonably expensive and luxurious. After succeeding in obtaining the repeal of certain sumptuary laws, by which they had been prohibited from chariots, variegated garments, and gold ornaments, the apparel of ladies at once became extremely showy. Even attalic dresses, as those of cloth of gold were called, were not uncommon; while their apartments were decorated with gold brocades and rich Oriental carpets from the moment when all these foreign luxuries could be obtained.

The frequency of holidays and amusements was largely increased; new games and foreign ceremonies were introduced; busy idling became the business of life among the wealthy; and some place of amusement was provided for killing time at each hour of every day.

Naturally, this extravagance increased the cost of living; rents became enormously high; and the foreign luxuries which became articles of general trade were extremely costly. Money was the one thing to be desired, and so absolutely necessary was it esteemed that men had apparently little conscience regarding the means they used to obtain it. The only man who was esteemed fortunate was he who, by almost any means, became rich quickly. The demoralisation consequent upon this phase of thought and the superlative consideration given to money was almost indescribable. Marriage became a mercantile operation; and this view of it was taken by both parties to the bargain, as the women were no less mercenary than the men. Pure friendships and unselfish moral relations were so rare that they could scarcely be said to exist; cheating, usury, begging, — in short, every means that could bring a man money — was unhesitatingly adopted; and the perpetrators of frauds, if successful, were not tabooed in business circles nor in polite society.

This criminal greed and pursuit of money soon blunted all moral perception in such a way that crimes which had no relation to the acquirement of riches lost their repulsiveness in many minds; and at length the authorities discovered plans for incendiary fires on all sides of the city. Loss of moral perception inevitably makes a man despicable; and if he escapes becoming a criminal, it is his rare good fortune.

It is doubtless true that the enormous wealth acquired by the subjugation of her enemies doomed Rome to the penalty that seems to have been affixed by an immutable law to ill-acquired fortunes; they go as easily as they come, leaving moral ruin behind. During two and a half centuries Rome suffered from this cause, until, at about the close of the first century of the Christian era, a better ruling class came into power, and a provincial aristocracy replaced the profligates to whom Juvenal referred in saying, "Since Rome has lost her noble poverty, Sybaris and Rhodes, Miletus and Taren-

tum, crowned with roses and scented with perfumes, have entered within our walls."

When Sulla died, in 78 B. C., Rome was in a most inglorious condition politically; and although political history is not within the province of this volume, I hazard a reference to it. The time had come when the whole body of the venerable Commonwealth of Rome was fatally diseased. Roman power was on the decline at home and abroad; the first dull grumblings of the great northern storm which was to sweep over this proud city were distinctly heard at Aquæ Sixtiæ, in 102 B. C., where the Roman conquerors might well have apprehended that for every Barbarian slain, or sold as a slave in Rome, a hundred avengers would arise.

It is easy to perceive the dangers which threatened Rome at this epoch now, when we profit by the knowledge of what followed, but even then there were Romans who believed that they foresaw and prophesied, like the Patriarchs of the Hebrews, the destruction that their folly must surely bring. They could only wait, hoping that a regenerator would be raised up, and the last disasters be averted.

As externally, so internally, the degeneration of Rome was apparent; there was no prosecution of public improvements; and the plans spoken of from time to time for bridges, roads, and drainage, were not put in execution. In the wars with Hannibal, the public reserve was not encroached on until the tenth year of the struggles: in the Social war the expenses were paid from the public funds from the beginning; and when these were exhausted, the public sites in Rome were sold, and the treasures in the temples expended in preference to taxing the Romans. What could better witness to their degeneration than these facts?

The great financial crisis about 90 B. C. resulted in a large migration of the middle and business class of young men, who spent the best years of life abroad in mercantile pursuits; and the foreigners who flocked to Rome as diplomats,

priests, physicians, schoolmasters, etc., were substitutes of a doubtful worth for the young men of Roman birth and Roman parentage. Meantime, not only the patricians, but the middle classes also, had increased the expense of living, and aped the habits of those socially above them, in their extravagance, luxury, and pursuit of amusement.

What must the standard of expenditures have been when Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, as early as 152 B. C., desired his heirs to expend no more than twenty thousand dollars on his funeral rites? — as, in his opinion, the true last honours consisted not in vain show, but in cherishing the personal remembrance of the dead, and in the faithful performance of the ancestral services.

The town-houses, as well as the country and seaside villas, were costly; and the shores of the Bay of Naples, in the fashionable season, were crowded with those whose profession was elegant idleness, whose gambling and other vices afforded the gossip of the Roman world. Sumptuary laws had made little difference in the lavish expenditure of the Roman women, whose extravagance in foreign perfumes amounted to the marvellous; while they discarded heavier and less costly fabrics, and dressed in Oriental gauzes, which provokingly displayed, rather than concealed, the voluptuous lines of the figure.

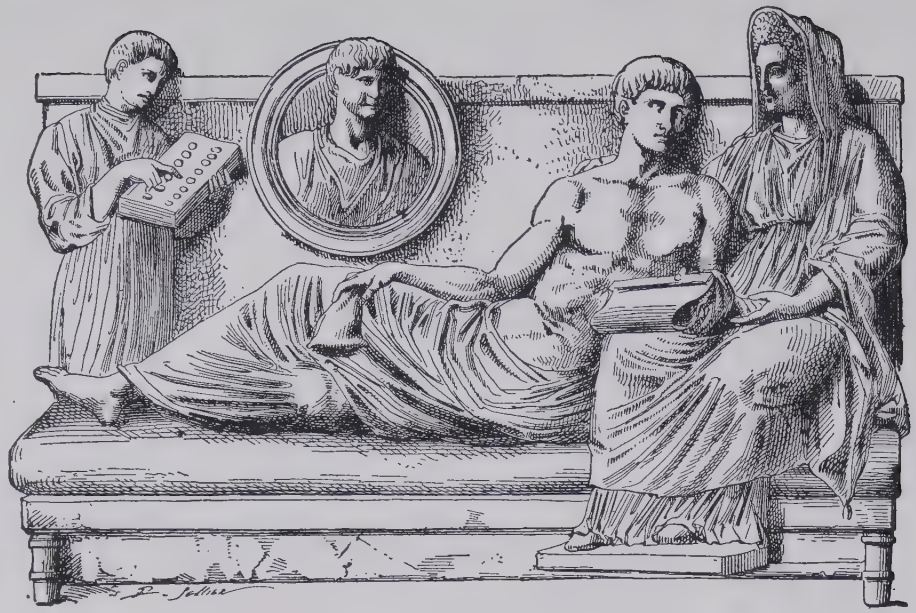
Laws were made for curtailing the expenditures for cooks, for expensive edibles and wines, and the enormous outlays for silver plate; but they were largely ineffectual, as is proved by the fact that in Sulla's time there were one hundred silver state dishes in Rome, weighing one hundred pounds each. So profuse and fine was the work lavished in their decoration that fifteen and eighteen times the worth of the silver by weight was paid for it when fashioned into these splendid objects. In fact, there was no one avenue for the spending of money in luxurious display that was not crowded by Romans tumbling over one another in their mad desire to excel as spendthrifts and fools.

Metellus Macedonicus was admired of his contemporaries for his exemplary domestic life and his large family; and yet it was he who, in a public address, thus expressed his views of marriage: "If we could, citizens, we should indeed all keep clear of this burden. But, as nature has so arranged it that we cannot either live comfortably with wives or live at all without them, it is proper to have regard rather to the permanent weal than to our own brief comfort."

When a man who commanded unusual respect advocated such views, we cannot wonder that a dissolute Roman, when reproached for shedding tears over the death of the most costly inhabitant of his fish-pond, should assert his courage by declaring that he had buried three wives, all of which had not cost him a tear! We search in vain for any standard concerning marriage that commands respect. We admire Julius Cæsar when he refuses to send a divorce to Cornelia at the bidding of the dictator; but the same Cæsar asked Pompey for the hand of his daughter when she was the wife of Faustus Sulla.

As in every country where it exists, slavery is a curse, so was it in Rome. During the century preceding the Christian era, the number of slaves had increased so enormously that all other labour was driven from the field. Rome was filled with men having no occupation. They hung about the doors of the wealthy, ready to sell their votes, their testimony, their very being, for the sake of passing a miserable existence in the midst of city life. They thought themselves repaid for any degradation by listening to the orations in the Forum, witnessing the various games, which lasted for days, and attending the theatres, which were free to all, — in short, to so live as to become the least as men that it was possible to be.

In families slaves filled every position. There were slave cooks, weavers, embroiderers, physicians, and tutors, devoted to the service of each wealthy family. Slaves alone succeeded as blacksmiths, carpenters, painters, gilders, and even



AN EDUCATED SLAVE CALCULATING BEFORE HIS MASTER.

architects, as their masters had given them proper instructors in their various trades, and had then established them in workshops, the profits of which went, of course, to the masters.

During the first Punic War eighty-four thousand slaves were brought to Rome. Many of these, in the course of a few years, became freedmen, but not Romans; in the spirit and habits of their life, the Romans of the later Republic were so unlike their ancestors that it was as if patriotism and probity were dead, and religion had never been considered as a part of life.

The outlook at this time, to the few Romans who retained an appreciation of the noble qualities which their progenitors had cultivated, must have been one of utter discouragement and inexpressible sadness. They could not know, as we now do, that the greatest evils from which they suffered were rapidly destroying the whole fabric of the Republic, which must come to an end before anything better could replace it. They could not anticipate a time when internal order and a long reign of peace should raise commerce to a height of which they had not even dreamed; should put a stop to the introduction of slaves by tens of thousands, and create a standard by which industry and free labour should be raised to their proper estimate in the minds of Romans of all ranks, and a prosperity reign in Rome such as had not before been known. In this new era of which we read the history, men would commit crimes which cause us to shudder even to-day, and the blood-tragedies of the Empire would make the Senate-house and palaces to seem like shambles; but for the masses there would be a prosperity far in excess of any hopes which they had thus far cherished.

When Julius Cæsar became the sovereign of Rome in all save the title, the condition of society, its manners and customs, were such as I have outlined, — not by any means described. There were two classes, — the rich and the poor, between whom a great gulf was fixed, there being no middle

class to fill it. The class that we denote as such cannot exist in a slave state; and while there were, in Rome, men of business, their prosperity enabled them, as a rule, to live the life of the wealthy and idle, in connection with their transactions.

A really fashionable man now required a town-house, a mountain villa, and another on the seashore for the various seasons; a garden outside Rome; and a splendid tomb in which his ashes should be as luxuriously housed as he had been in life; horses, dogs, fine furniture, rich dress, jewels, and pearls, and the most costly table luxury of every sort at inconceivable cost: all these — and more — were absolute necessities. A delightful rivalry was also in order in the raising of fruits and the cultivation of flowers. The villa-gardens for both trees and vegetables, the beds of roses and violets, the vine-covered hills and the dark olive-trees, are all sweetly and truthfully pictured for us by the poets who saw and loved them.

A BIRD-CATCHER.

The bill of fare of a banquet at which Cæsar and the Vestal Virgins, as well as other priests and ladies, assisted has been preserved. Before the actual dinner there were sea-hedgehogs, whatever those may have been; fresh oysters, *as many as the guests wished;* large mussels; sphondyli;

fieldfares with asparagus; fattened fowls; oyster and mussel pasties; black and white sea-acorns; sphondyli again; glycymerides; sea-nettles; beccaficoes; roe-ribs; boar's ribs; fowls dressed with flour; beccaficoes; purple shell-fish of two sorts.

The dinner itself was of sow's udder; boar's head; fish-pasties; boar-pasties; ducks; boiled teals; hares; roasted fowls; starch pastry; Pontic pastry.

Varro complained that such banquets increased the cost of all delicacies, and in a satire gives the following list of the foreign edibles affected by the Romans: "Peacocks from Samos; grouse from Phrygia; cranes from Melos; kids from Ambracia; tunny-fishes from Chalcedon; murænas from the Straits of Gades; *aselli* from Pessinus; oysters and scallops from Tarentum; sturgeons from Rhodes; *scarus* fishes from Cilicia; nuts from Thaos; dates from Egypt; acorns from Spain."

We do not wonder that it became quite the usual thing — at least created no remark — for a guest to take an emetic after a banquet, and was counted a compliment to his host to take one previously, in order to eat more freely. Debauchery of all kinds was reduced to a system, and had its professors, who initiated Roman youths into the practical methods of various vices.

Colossal fortunes simply melted away under this order of expenditure; and if, in addition to high living, a man went in for office, the most princely estates were quite insufficient, and the only resource for such a man was to owe all that he could borrow. In 62 B. C., Cæsar owed, above his assets, about one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. When Mark Antony was twenty-four years old, he owed three hundred thousand dollars, which he increased in fourteen years to two millions; and many others were equally in debt. On one occasion so much money was borrowed by those who wished to buy the consulship that the rate of interest, four per cent a month, was doubled.

All morality was thrown over; to be poor was the only crime, and nothing existed that was not sold for money. Ladies of rank even sold their personal purity; and the trials of certain criminal cases revealed the most inexpressible conditions in families of repute. All this immorality and crime flowed in a deep, dark stream beneath a surface of calm and polished seeming.

The manners of society in public appeared to be the expression of universal good feeling. Visits were industriously made; letters of courtesy were carried to an extreme; and all occasions, even those that would most properly have been but family affairs, were made excuses for public parades, while, in order to die becomingly, one must give a memento to each of his numberless friends.

The love-affairs of actresses, ballet-dancers, and the like were unnoticed, as the intrigues of ladies of quality were more interesting; but even these became such a matter of course that one needed to be most unusual in its history to create a scandal. Such resorts as Puteoli, Baiæ, etc., became notorious for the freedom of life they made possible. Not only love-intrigues, but political schemes were conducted by Roman women, whose boldness and energy in carrying out their plans were in such contrast to the effeminacy of the fops who followed their lead that it did not seem in the least undesirable that women should rule the world.

The case of Marcus Cato, who divorced his wife as a favour to a friend who wished to marry her, and later, after the friend died, married the woman a second time, is referred to as an extreme example of Roman inability to perceive the immorality which everywhere prevailed. But there were so many notable instances that were recorded — and how many were not? — of the perfect recognition of right and wrong, with the full determination to do the wrong, that it is impossible to accord the grace of "invincible ignorance" to the Romans of that day.

The conquests of Rome necessitated the maintenance of Roman officials in so many foreign countries that the best men of the capital were largely sent to protect Roman interests elsewhere. Many others, possessing energy and brains, were absentees, seeking to acquire fortunes by speculation; and through long residence abroad these men lost their attachment to Rome, and frequently became wholly estranged from her.

For these losses there was small compensation in the traders and artisans, the slaves and freedmen, the only classes that were added to the Roman population. In many places in the Empire the complaint of Varro was realised: "The once populous cities of Italy stood desolate."

Cæsar made sumptuary laws, which fixed a limit to the cost of sepulchral monuments. He also attempted to reform the immoderate expenditure for the table, strictly prohibiting certain extravagant dishes, etc. Such laws had heretofore proved utterly ineffectual, and would have been so now, had not Cæsar inaugurated a perfect system of espionage. The markets were superintended by his overseers, and the tables of the wealthy overlooked, the forbidden dishes being confiscated when found.

The use of purple robes and pearls was largely restricted, being permitted to certain classes, ages, and occasions only, and totally prohibited to grown men. The Romans were acquainted with and used all the costly precious stones, but gave the preference to pearls; for these enormous sums were paid, especially for single pearls of large size, which were worn as ear-jewels, or suspended in the centre of the forehead. Suetonius relates that Julius Cæsar gave to the mother of Marcus Brutus a single pearl, for which he paid two hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred dollars. Lollia Paulina — she of the gardens of which we have spoken — possessed pearls and emeralds set in all kinds of ornaments, and of enormous value. These had

been acquired by her grandfather in his Eastern campaigns in 2 B.C.

Many uses were found for seed-pearls. Slippers embroidered with them were very effective; they were much worn by the wealthy, and coveted by those who could not afford to buy them.

We do not wonder that so great a man as Julius Cæsar gave his attention to the dress of his people when we learn all the horrors that had come to be the mode. The Roman women painted their faces as freely as do many of the present day; their artificial teeth are easily pardoned, but one hesitates to approve eyebrows that are bought in shops; and when the wigs and the Roman methods of arranging artificial hair are in question, one feels like using the most condemnatory words at command.

Brunettes wore blond wigs imported from Germany at great cost; and doubtless Juvenal spoke of what he knew when he said, "You have your hair curled, Galla, at a hairdresser's in Subura Street, and your eyebrows are brought to you every morning. At night you remove your teeth as you do your dress. Your charms are enclosed in a hundred different pots, and your face does not go to bed with you."

Gradually Cæsar did, indeed, produce a slight effect upon the manners and morals of the Romans, by his measures to check long absences in other countries, by his rewards to fathers of large families, and his severity in cases of divorce and adultery; but it is easier for individuals and for nations to retrograde than to recover themselves, and the latter process is almost unattainable with a people of no religious or moral sense, who prefer the luxury of the hour before any other consideration.

No one can study the decadence of the Roman Republic and not accept Mommsen's conclusion that "it is a dreadful picture," and be grateful to this author for his masterly

presentation of his subject, in which, among other causes, he gives prominence to the dire effects upon a nation of slavery, and of the lack of a middle class. No one can object to his severest arraignment of these and other conditions in Rome at this period. But why did he close one of his fine summaries — in which he compares the Rome of the century before the Christian era to the Greece of the time of Polybius and the Carthage of Hannibal — with a sentence like the following? —

"All the arrant sins that capital has been guilty of against nation and civilisation in the modern world remain as far inferior to the abominations of the ancient capital states as the free man, be he ever so poor, remains superior to the slave; *and not until the dragon seed of North America ripens, will the world have again similar fruits to reap!*" [1]

Did the learned gentleman think that we still have slavery and have no middle class? Had he no gratitude for the opportunity that we have given his own countrymen — who come to us as beggars — to become farmers and landholders, such as he admires among the early Romans; an opportunity to become middle-class men and millionaires, and, in fact, to attain to any height in any walk of life — except the Presidency — to which their brains and their ambition are equal?

I have stated that the earlier Romans, in their parsimony, did not favour the reception of guests, and have spoken of the extravagant entertainments of the later Republic. However, there existed a hospitality in Rome quite different from these extremes of parsimony and lavishness; in fact, there was an established and well-regulated system for both the private and public reception and entertainment of strangers.

In the former, the tie between host and guest was almost sacred: it was established by gifts or by the offices of a third person; and when the relation was formed, the

[1] These remarks are repeated in the latest editions of the "History of Rome."

host and guest divided between them a ticket of hospitality. Either they or their descendants — for this bond was hereditary — could recognise each other by this pledge. If a hospitality thus established was broken, it must be done by a formal renunciation of the bond and the destruction of the *tessera*, or ticket, which probably bore an image of Jupiter as the god of hospitality, thus imparting a religious significance to the bond between the host and his guest.

The usual private hospitality was thus conducted; but beyond this there was a hospitality which was governed by no formalities, and the reception of distinguished guests was regarded as both a duty and an honour. The duties of private hospitality required that on arrival the guest should at once have an apartment assigned him, a bath and a meal provided, an offering made for him at the family altar, and the same care and privileges bestowed on him as if he were one of the household.

These duties were much esteemed by the Romans; and statesmen endeavoured to entertain numerous guests, and looked well to their comfort and enjoyment, as by these means they gained influence in the Roman provinces and in other countries. Naturally, there were travellers who preferred independence, and, like Cicero on his journey to Cilicia, would not accept hospitality from private individuals.

Public hospitality in Rome is first directly mentioned as being established with Cære in recognition of the services of its citizens in aid of the capital. Public hospitality was decreed to distinguished guests by the Senate, and this privilege was hereditary in the family of the man to whom it was granted. The record of this hospitality between two cities was engraved on copper or bronze tablets and preserved, in Rome, in the *Ædes fidei populi Romani*, and in some temple or sacred place in the second city concerned in the covenant.

These contracts entitled guests not only to board and lodging, but to medical attendance if ill, and to a decent burial in case of death. Contracts of this nature existed between Rome and certain Greek cities, which in the days of the Empire became a heavy tax on the Greeks, as the Romans became habitual travellers.

I have already spoken of the many roads that led from Rome, and of the rapidity of certain journeys, like that of

ROMAN HORSEMAN.

Cæsar to the Rhone. Government couriers, too, travelled with great rapidity, while the foot-runners with letters made but twenty-five miles in a day. For all bearers of despatches and government employees there were night quarters about twenty-five miles apart, and for the Emperor and high

officials more luxurious arrangements were made. But for the ordinary traveller pursuing his business or pleasure, there was no public accommodation beyond the provision of conveyances; and as it was most unusual to drive within the city, carriages and horses, or mules, for hire, were found outside the principal city gates.

Towards the end of the Republic, wealthy travellers affected a luxury which corresponded to that of city life; and if we credit the writers of that day, we should estimate the travelling arrangements of a private gentleman as sufficient for a royal progress. Seneca writes, "Everybody who now travels is preceded by a troop of Numidian cavalry, and even sends out scouts before these; their pack mules are laden with costly and delicate vessels of glass and *murrha*, produced by the most skilful craftsmen, and a man would find it undignified to load his beasts with objects that are suited to rough ways."

Nero required a train of a thousand waggons. Poppæa had her horses shod with gold-tipped shoes, while five hundred she-asses were in her train, that she might have a bath in their milk each day. Cicero describes the journey of a Sicilian governor, who only travelled in the season of roses. "He had himself conveyed, as was the custom with the kings of Bithynia, in a litter with eight bearers, sitting on a cushion of Maltese gauze stuffed with rose-leaves, with one garland on his head and a second twined round his neck, applying to his nose a little smelling-bag of fine linen, with minute meshes, filled with roses; and thus he had himself carried even to his bed-chamber."

It was not possible for such travellers, or indeed, for persons of even decent habits of life, to frequent the inns, and they were avoided altogether. If travellers owned no villas and had no friends dwelling on their route who would make them welcome, they frequently took tents and a camp equipage along and made themselves comfortable, quite indepen-

dent of other provisions. It is certain, however, that places of public entertainment existed with reasonable frequency on the most frequented roads of the Empire; and it was the duty of certain officials to see that they were maintained from the public treasury, if necessary. There was certainly a difference in the inns, there being rival establishments in some localities.

Restaurants also existed. In some of these, tables were spread, and in cheaper places people stood while eating. The charges at public houses were absurdly small, and exaggerated suspicions of crimes committed by innkeepers are recorded in more than one Roman account of travel. Saint Augustine confesses to their extraordinarily bad reputation; they were said to murder rich travellers, quite as a matter of course, and even to eat their flesh. All this, taken together with the well-attested fact that highway robbers were a constant danger on all roads at any considerable distance from Rome, makes a journey in those days appear to have been far from an unadulterated delight.

However, there were some routes, like that from Rome to Naples, so well travelled that the numbers to be encountered, especially in the caravans of the wealthy, were alarming, even to highwaymen, and this road was comparatively safe. There are some romances connected with the robbers of those days, far less commonplace than the tale of Fra Diavolo; and although when caught they were thrown to the beasts of the amphitheatre, even this did not serve to discourage them; the richly housed mules and horses, with gold-trimmed harnesses, and carriages decorated without with gold and silver, and rich with treasure within, proved a temptation too strong to be withstood.

Then, as now, travellers entertained themselves with reading, playing games with dice, and writing; and the elder Pliny was accompanied by an amanuensis and lost little time when on the road.

In the winter a journey by boat was most undesirable; but in the warmer seasons many preferred to make eight miles an hour on the Tiber rather than five miles on the dusty road; and the crossing from Brindisi to Durazzo, which occupied twenty-four hours in good weather, seems to have been a favourite journey. We know that there were cabins, and that a sort of tent was used for sleeping on deck, but of the details of making one's self comfortable on board the coasting vessels, we are quite ignorant. They were propelled by both sails and oars, and made from six to eight miles an hour.

Besides the journeys on government affairs and the pleasure travelling, there were educational journeys and commercial journeys. Of the former great account was made in the education of the sons of wealthy families.

The journey to Greece was preferred, but in some cases different cities of Italy were visited. It was not unusual for a youth to follow some teacher or philosopher from place to place in order to profit by his instruction; and these young men encountered a great variety of persons, as well as many adventures, in the course of a year of student travel. Artists and skilled artisans, bands of musicians, actors and athletes, rhetoricians and poets, and many invalids were met in all sorts of places; and even physicians, both quacks and educated men, were usually at hand on all routes of travel. For then, as now, it was the custom to prescribe a sea voyage and change of climate, especially that of Egypt, to those who were not well at home. The ancient medicated springs were of great renown; while grape-cures, milk-cures, and pine woods were all highly esteemed for the alleviation of certain maladies.

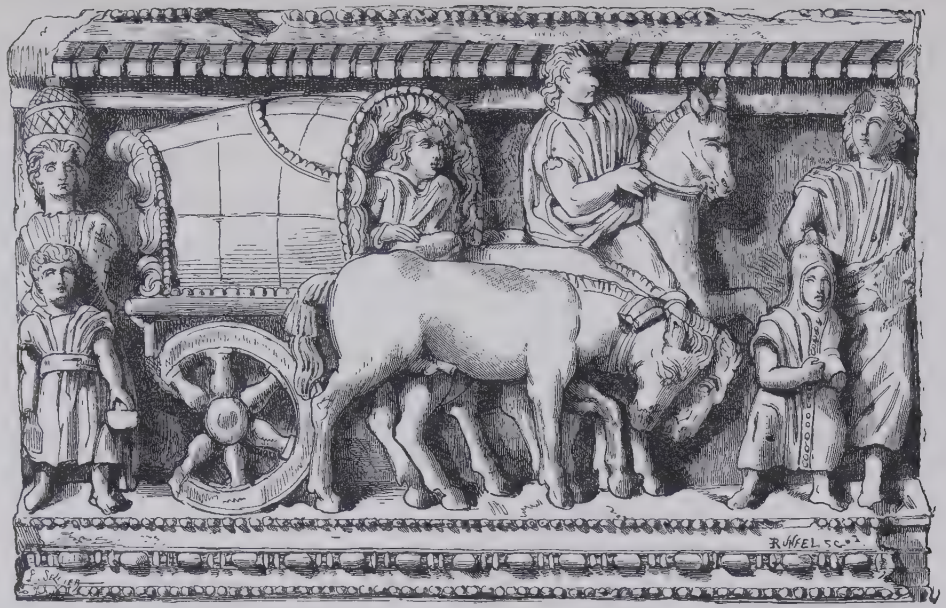
Pilgrimages to famous temples and to oracles of great renown were made by immense numbers of persons of all classes; the poor even managing to go where their superstitions led them to hope for great benefits.

Greeks flocked to Rome on the occasions of unusual spectacles; while the Romans crowded to Greece for the Olympic games, and, when once there, rarely returned to Rome before visiting many temples and shrines. These were, to the traveller, rare museums of art as well as splendid centres of impressive religious rites. The Roman youth could profit greatly from these travels, as there were educated guides — men cultivated and proficient in science and archæology — ready to explain all that was worthy attention.

Horace poetically describes the matter-of-fact business journey when he alludes to the commercial traveller who "tempts the wintry sea, moving continually to and fro between the equator and the pole;" and we must admit that a vast amount of æsthetic pleasure might have been enjoyed by men whose thoughts were free from the pursuit of the almighty sesterces; but I fear me that these commercial gentlemen were scarcely aware of the beauties that surrounded them when they were eagerly hastening to a soldier's camp, fearful lest some other man with wares like theirs had preceded them; or entering a city where they hoped to make good bargains in their purchases.

The extent of these merchant journeys was very great, and money-seekers pierced to the heart of the Orient, as well as to Spain, France, and England. After the conquest of Egypt the Roman trader went from Alexandria up the Nile, packed his goods on camels, and, crossing the desert by night journeys, the days being too hot, in a fortnight he reached the Red Sea, and there took ship for Arabian and Indian ports. Many dangers attended these travels; but if successful, the weary trader reached Rome again after eight or nine months of absence, bringing with him the much-coveted gold, ivory, gems, pearls, spices, silk, and the greatly valued amber.

Foreign merchants also came from north and south to Italy, bringing quince marmalade from Spain, glass and paper from Alexandria, the choicest linens from Beyrout,



A ROMAN FAMILY TRAVELLING. CART CALLED THE CARPENTUM.

and the costly fish sauces from Antibes. Thus the Romans penetrated to the ends of the earth and brought to their Eternal City the treasures thereof.

In the year 7 B. C., Augustus had successfully encountered and overcome the dangers and trials which attended his as-

SAILING VESSEL.

sumption of the imperial power, and the history of Rome now assumes a new phase.

Mæcenas had died: he seemed like the last link with the Republic to those whose memories extended to that time; and no great men had arisen, or would arise, during the long reign of the new Emperor. The stir and bustle of the Forum, the Comitia, and the tribunals were things of the past; indeed, the chief occupation of the upper classes of Rome at this period was that of killing time in social life.

The first place in the minds of Romans was held by the imperial family, composed of an irritable, conceited Emperor, his intriguing wife, his two grandsons, his rival heirs, and a

daughter on whom he lavished his deepest affections. To her faults, clearly manifest to others, he remained blind until she became so notorious that even the Emperor must know the depth of his disgrace through the conduct of his beloved Julia.

That she had not always met with his approbation is proved by anecdotes like the following, which have been handed down through the centuries. One day her dress was much too showy to please Augustus, but he said nothing until the next day, when, seeing her in a more quiet costume, he approved it as being suitable to Cæsar's daughter; to which she quickly replied, "To-day I am dressed to please my father; yesterday I thought to please my husband."

DROMEDARY CARRYING BAGGAGE.

Again, when he criticised a bevy of her young followers, gay and dissolute in appearance, she quieted him by saying, "But these young men will grow old along with me." It was the grace with which she playfully said such commonplace things, and the love which Augustus bore her, that led him to regard her with fond approbation, at times apparently believing her a model of all womanly virtues, and again complaining that he had a troublesome daughter. The restrictions that her father would have imposed on her were most distasteful to Julia, who was beautiful, clever, highly educated, a woman of letters even, accomplished in music and dancing, fascinating to men, proud of her position, and utterly immoral.

To some one who criticised her want of her father's simplicity, she replied, "He forgets that he is Cæsar; I cannot

but remember that I am Cæsar's daughter," the subtle compliment of which reply could but flatter the Emperor. Augustus had believed that he ought not to permit her to remain a widow, and had married her to Tiberius, — an alliance detested by both, as he was forced to put away a wife who

JULIA, DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS.

pleased him to marry one whom he could not trust, as he well knew. She despised him; she bore a child who died; and Tiberius being much in the provinces, Julia lived in the palace, evaded the watchfulness of her father, and plunged into the very depths of Roman dissipations until her name was a common jest throughout the capital.

But the time came, and not too soon, when Augustus

knew the truth, and boldly followed the only course open to him. He had devoted himself to the reformation of public manners in vain, and in vain had he simulated in his own life the ancient virtues, if one of his own house — his only child — could be pardoned for such conduct as hers. Julia was banished, as were many of the men who had shared her dissipations. Some of them bore the noblest names in Rome, but they were exiled; while Julius Antonius, to whose other sins the crime of treason was added, was condemned to death.

Julia was permitted no alleviation from the most rigorous treatment on the Island of Pandataria during five years. She was then transferred to the extreme point of the Italian continent, where she was carefully guarded from friends and foes alike, until, a few months after her father's death, in 14 A. D., during the earliest triumphs of her husband, now Emperor, and of the stepmother whom she hated, she succumbed under her sorrows and privations and died in her isolation. She had, indeed, lived too long, — had lived to know that her father and her sons were dead, and that Livia was now the Empress-mother, as she herself had hoped to be.

SEAL OF AUGUSTUS.

Tiberius was not content until Sempronius Gracchus, one of Julia's noble lovers, who had been confined to an island off the coast of Africa during the life of the old Emperor, was slain by his order; and, indeed, the only gentleness shown by the new Emperor was for his mother, to whom he accorded all possible respect, while he carefully excluded her from

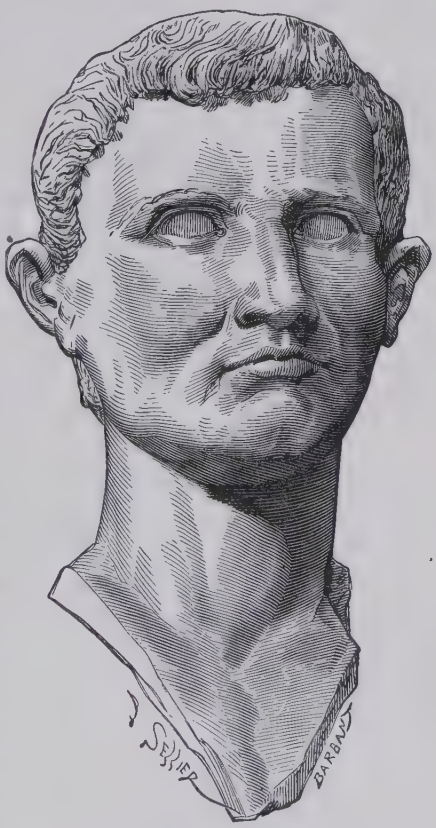
public affairs, and denied her the honours that the Senate would have accorded her.

Nevertheless, Livia exercised a wonderful influence over her son, which was apparent to those who came near the imperial pair in their private life. The old Empress was now enjoying the fruits of her life-labour. Her son was in the place she had so coveted for him that both intentionally and unconsciously every important act of her life had been directed to this end. Her own position in Rome was also such as contented her; she was regarded as the power next the Emperor; while the Empress-consort seemed to have no influence in any direction.

Livia admitted but few persons to her intimate friendship; but to these unusual privileges were accorded, and their disregard and even defiance of certain laws passed unpunished. Nevertheless, Tiberius did not succeed in disguising the anger and disgust which he experienced under the disregard of his will which was displayed by the Empress-mother.

He gradually became impatient of Livia's power over him, and did not hesitate to speak to her and of her in a manner which, if she loved him, must have made her feel that she had lived too long; and at length, when she died, in 28 A. D., at the age of eighty-six, the son so far forgot, not only his duty to his mother, but his own dignity, as to absent himself from her funeral and forbid the Senate to accord her the divine honours which they considered her due. While it may be true that Livia afforded, as Merivale writes, "a memorable example of successful artifice, having attained in succession, by craft if not by crime, every object she could desire in the career of female ambition," it is still impossible not to respect and admire her for what she did not do. She lived through the most debased years of Rome's decadence, almost the only woman of prominence whose maternal instinct was the ruling motive of her life, and a rare example of fidelity to her marriage vows.

She counselled Augustus to mildness and dared to protect those who had cause to fear the persecutions of Tiberius and the cruelties of Sejanus, the demon who worked the Emperor's will. She educated many well-born children on whom the curse of poverty had fallen, and gave marriage portions to maidens otherwise unprotected.



THE YOUNG TIBERIUS.

There were many ways in which the superiority and human feeling of Livia were manifested. Perhaps in nothing was her kindliness more strikingly shown, and her generosity as well, than in the mausoleum where she interred her servants. Here, as if all of one family, were buried those who had served her food, attired her person, executed her commissions, administered her charities, and performed innumerable services of greater and less importance, all properly cared for when dead and their usefulness ended.

The one fault, almost crime, which she had committed in

the eyes of the Romans, — a fault they could neither forget nor forgive, — was being the mother of Tiberius. And having given him birth, she increased her blameworthiness by her devotion to his interests; for it would have been impossible to convince a Roman that Tiberius became their tyrant by any other means than by the arts and even crimes of Livia, whose ambition had determined her to secure to him the imperial power.

Passing over the frightful period when the Romans were ruled by Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, during which the dissoluteness, the indecencies, and the crimes of Roman society reached an indescribable heinousness, we come to the reign of the hated Nero. It was during his rule, however, that we perceive the first indications of another spirit and a different life, — the inauguration of an utterly new thought, for never before had anything that bordered on true spirituality existed in Rome. Feeble, and overshadowed by the godless multitude around them, yet strong in the faith which made them free, — ready to die for, but not to deny "the strange and mischievous superstition," the cherishing of which was the sin laid to their charge, — the Christians now first aroused a serious consideration in Rome.

The effect of the new doctrines, and the acceptance of them by men and women in high position, indicates that a revulsion against the prevalent demoralisation was taking place, and that beneath its surface there were dawning aspirations for a better life. Fortunately, the fear of the Christians did not yet exist, as is proved by the leniency with which Pomponia Græcina and other notable converts were permitted to be "guilty of a foreign superstition," and remain unpunished, the only effect produced upon the frivolous society around her being an awe of any influence that could induce the noble Pomponia to withdraw from their company, their dissipations and pleasures, to the reserve and retirement of her own serious meditations.

The teachings of Saint Paul and the early Christians did their work; and the sufferings that came to the Romans during the youth of the Empire, as the result of the frightful tyranny of their rulers and the terrible condition of their social life, had so chastened and sobered them that when,

VESPASIAN.

In 70 A. D., the Flavian rule was ushered in by the accession of Vespasian, both the ruler and the people were far in advance of the Julian and Claudian periods. It is unfortunate that just here the "Histories" of Tacitus are wanting, the recitals of Dion are sadly abridged, and the biographies of Suetonius become mere skeletons in comparison to those of an earlier date; for which reasons the records of the Flavian period are gathered from various disjointed sources, and are scarcely satisfactory to a true student of history.

At the very beginning of Vespasian's rule an entirely new style of living and a different estimation of what life should be is evident. The period of the worst extravagance and license was over, never to return in its universal corruption.

Even the language of Roman orators and authors became more moderate; and the provincial stock that was introduced to the Senate and to other departments of the government brought with it greater simplicity of life and manners. Wealth was no longer the supreme and only good; the profession of arms no longer the one career to be desired; luxury and vice were no longer excused or admired, but were denounced as sins, while domestic virtues once more commanded respect.

The absurd praise and flattery of Vespasian, which was so much the fashion of his time, was a harmless folly; but after reading the endless panegyrics on all that he did, and the minute details of his life from hour to hour, one is not surprised to learn at how high an estimate he held himself, nor that when dying he should have exclaimed, "Ah! methinks I am becoming a god."

Under Domitian, strangely enough, when his own character is considered, there was a crusade against immorality, and many severe measures introduced in the cause of virtuous living. He forbade singers and dancers to pursue their professions, and excluded astrologers and philosophers from Rome. He issued regulations for all the details of dress and behaviour, especially in the theatre and public places; he sternly reproved every appearance of disrespect to the gods, the temples, and the proper observances of religious forms, and emphasised his own piety by the rebuilding of the Capitol and the restoration of other sacred edifices which had suffered injury from fire and other casualties.

Of the persecution of Christians in the reign of Domitian, I have already spoken. It was short and not severe; and as it did not occur until 95 A. D., the Christian doctrines had reached many Romans and made numerous converts before this time.

The end of the first century of the Christian era was one of great splendour in the games in the circus and the con-

tests in the amphitheatre, and was characterised by the coarseness which such exhibitions — so frequent as to be almost continually before the eyes of the people — must of necessity induce. Sensuality in all directions, but especially among the soldiers, was again assuming its sway; and a better condition financially permitted extravagance once more, which was notably shown in the wonderful luxury of many villas near Rome, and in various places in Campania, etc.

DOMITIAN.

Happily, there were contrasts in the life of Romans of wealth, many of whom sought the pleasures of retirement and devoted themselves to study or to authorship. Pliny the Younger has left us a picture of such a man which is restful and charming when contrasted with so much that is tedious and repulsive in the story of Roman life: —

"I know not that I ever passed a pleasanter time than lately with Spurinna; there is, indeed, no man I should so much wish to resemble in my own old age, if I am permitted to grow old. Nothing can be finer than such a mode of life. For my part, I like a well-ordered course of life, *particularly in old men*, just as I admire the regular order of the stars. Some amount of irregularity and even of confusion is not unbecoming in youth; but everything should be regular and methodical with old men, who are too lato for labour, *and in whom ambition would be indecent.*"

As this author goes on to tell us what sort of existence this model Spurinna passed, it seems exceedingly humdrum. Not to himself naturally, or he would not have lived it, but our surprise is that it should have appeared attractive to

Pliny. He lived by the clock, and with the greatest exactness rendered one day like another.

At seven each morning he calls for his slippers, and walks three miles, "exercising his mind," as Pliny tells us, "at the same time with his body," even having a book read to him if no one is by with whom he can converse, and at times when friends are with him, if acceptable to them. At a certain hour he mounts his carriage, taking with him his wife, whom Pliny, in his approbation of everything connected with Spurinna, finds "a most admirable woman." He drives the same distance, seven miles, each day, and then walks one mile, and afterwards seats himself with a stylus in his hand, because he is addicted to the composition of elegant lyrics in both Greek and Latin. "Very soft, sweet, and merry they are, and their charm is enhanced by the decorum of the writer's own habits."

When, at two in winter and three in summer, his bath is announced, he strips, and takes a turn in the sun, if there is no cold wind, and takes active exercise at tennis or something of that sort, in order to keep off the usual marks of old age.

When at length he goes to his supper-table he sits awhile without eating and has a book read. When the food is served it is plain and moderate; but his ancient silver, Corinthian bronzes, etc., please the eye, and between the courses he sometimes has players introduced, "that the pleasures of the mind may give a relish to those of the palate."

Pliny adds many more details of this sort, and seems to consider it a marvel that at the age of sixty-seven Spurinna is not deaf, has good use of his eyes, and is active and vigorous. This suggests the effect of Roman life upon the majority of men: they were old when young, and broken down at what should have been their prime; not only Pliny, but other authors speak of men as being in old age at a time when we are accustomed to consider them as still strong, with years of usefulness in prospect.

Pliny's eulogium of his friend is very long, and ends as follows: "Such is the mode of life to which I look forward for myself, and on which I will enter with delight as soon as advancing years allow me to effect a retreat. Meanwhile I am harassed by a thousand troubles, in which Spurinna is my consolation, as he has ever been my example. For he too, as long as it became him, discharged duties, bore offices, governed provinces; and great was the labour by which he earned his relaxation."

We are grateful to him for affording us so complete a picture of a different sort of man, and a different life from that by which this period was too generally characterised. It is delightful to feel that there were Romans who retired to such peace and were out of the struggles in which so many others suffered or committed atrocious crimes.

This era, about 100 A. D., was distinguished by an enormous number of suicides; in fact, so frequent were they as to seem to be a conventional Roman custom. Curiously enough, self-murder was more frequent under the benevolent administration of Trajan than it had been during the sway of the most demon-like tyrants. Oftentimes, too, there was a publicity given to the intention of suicide that is quite foreign to our view of it. A frequent cause was ill-health. Pliny speaks of friends who were determined on death should their maladies prove incurable. While awaiting the decision of physicians in one case, Pliny wrote: "This I consider more than usually difficult and praiseworthy. For to rush upon death with impetuosity and ardour is common to many; but to deliberate about it, and discuss the arguments for it and against it, and live or die accordingly, is worthy of a great mind. And the doctors, it seems, do give us hopes. May the gods confirm them, and relieve me at least from this anxiety, which, when I am rid of, I shall return to my Laurentine villa, to my papers and tablets and literary leisure."

What a strange picture this presents to our imagination, — a man, weary of illness, having told his friends of his intention, awaits with them the fiat of the physicians as to whether his disease is fatal or not, and will accordingly commit suicide or consent to live on; no one thinks of interfering, but all apparently consider it a matter for his own choice and decision, and quietly await the result, no matter at what cost to their affection and wishes!

Women were no exception to this custom of suicide.

When Pætus was sentenced for conspiracy, his wife Arria stabbed herself and handed her dagger to her husband, saying, "It is not painful," having already quite made up her mind to the deed, and told her friends on what she had decided in case her husband was convicted. When her son-in-law tried to reason with her and asked if she should wish her daughter to refuse to survive him, she replied, "Assuredly, if she had lived as long and well with you as I have lived with Pætus." And when she found herself watched and her weapons gone, she told her friends that they could make her die a shocking death, but they could not prevent her dying; in illustration of which truth she rushed from her seat and beat her head against the wall and fell senseless. Pliny expressed great admiration for this fierce woman, and her family proudly cherished her memory.

Seneca was even ecstatic in his manner of rejoicing over the fact that one need not live except by his own will. "I see before me the crosses of many forms," he exclaims: "I see the rack and the scourge, and the instruments of torture adapted to every limb and to every nerve; but I also see Death. She stands beyond my savage enemies, beyond my haughty fellow-countrymen. Slavery loses its bitterness when by a step I can pass to liberty. Against all the injuries of life, I have the refuge of death," and so on, page after page.

The doctrine of suicide was indeed the culmination of the

teaching of the Stoics; and to men who had no conception of religion in the Christian sense of that word — above all, to Romans, acquainted as they were with all possible human ills, moral and physical — death came to be regarded as a remedy; the sting was drawn from many calamities and sorrows when the ending of life was esteemed as a relief from all its bitterness, and a relief always at hand.

Neither Trajan, Hadrian, nor Antoninus disturbed the Christians of Rome, and the character of the latter Emperor is most attractive in the pages of Roman history. The cheerfulness attributed to him as a "prominent trait" might well be termed an active virtue. He appeared to accept, and to be content, with all his surroundings, — with his people, his policy, his religion; and if he suffered any anxieties, he did not allow them to be detected by others. He professed the philosophy of Epicurus, but, judging from his life, he might have been a Stoic. He possessed that natural uprightness and moral tone that prevents a man from desiring such indulgences as weaken men physically and morally. Antoninus was the happiest of pagan rulers, and is to be greatly honoured, not only for the good he did, but perhaps even more for leaving undone the vast evil he had the power to do.

Antoninus had always been the kind of man that he showed himself as an emperor. Many previous rulers of Rome had been greatly changed by the access of power; but as he had been modest, dignified, and benevolent, so he remained. He was patient with his subjects, and endured their ill temper and the raillery of the upper classes with perfect good-nature. Just at this period, the absence of great public excitements throws the person and the deeds of the Emperor into bold relief. He lived an abstemious life in Rome or in his villas near the capital. Like Augustus, he wore garments woven by the handmaids of the Empress, who, so far as we can understand, was, by her licentious life, the one

bitterness in his existence. This trial he met with dignified forbearance, and paid her, both living and dead, the honours which her station demanded.

Antoninus gave his daughter Faustina in marriage to Marcus Aurelius, his adopted son and successor on the imperial throne. No more splendid tribute could be paid by a Christian son to his own parent than that which Aurelius paid to Antoninus. It is too long to be given here; but the closing sentence, following the presentation of an almost perfect character in detail, is a wonderful tribute to a Roman emperor, when the qualities of most of his predecessors are remembered. It is as follows: "It might be said of him, as of Socrates, that he could both abstain from and enjoy the things which men in general can neither abstain from at all, nor enjoy without excess."

It was not possible that a reign of twenty-three years by such an emperor should not have put to the blush some of the immoralities and extravagances of earlier reigns, in which the emperors themselves had excelled their subjects in dissolute living. But slavery, concubinage, the exposure of infants, and other demoralising customs still prevailed; and less than a quarter of a century could have little influence in uprooting the luxurious growth from seeds planted centuries before.

Antoninus read Justin Martyr's first Apology; and in Rome the Christians were permitted to follow their religion peacefully under his rule. It is more than suspected by reliable authorities that the persecutions of Christians in the provinces were not known — certainly not authorised — by the Emperor; there is also good reason to doubt if he knew that the Greek Ptolemæus and two other Christians were executed in Rome near the end of his life; at all events, the followers of Christ had been essentially undisturbed and had greatly enlarged their influence when Marcus Aurelius came to the throne.

Perhaps no man who has borne an important part in the world's history affords a more complex study of character than does this Roman Emperor; and the varying estimates of him made by competent historians are most perplexing to the student of his epoch. The contrast, for example, between the opening sentences of Merivale and Duruy in their chapters devoted to him is especially striking. "Of all the Cæsars," writes Merivale, "whose names are enshrined in the page of history, or whose features are preserved to us in the repositories of art, one alone seems still to haunt the eternal city in the place and the posture most familiar to him in life. In the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which crowns the platform of the Campidoglio, Imperial Rome lives again. Of all her consecrated sites it is to this that the classical pilgrim should most devoutly repair; this of all the monuments of Roman antiquity most justly challenges his veneration. For in this figure we behold an Emperor, of all the line the noblest and the dearest, such as he actually appeared; we realise in one august exemplar the character and image of the rulers of the world. We stand here face to face with a representative of the Scipios and Cæsars, with a model of the heroes of Tacitus and Livy. Our other Romans are effigies of the closet and the museum; this alone is a man of the streets, the Forum, and the Capitol. Such special prominence is well reserved, amidst the wreck of ages, for him whom historians combine to honour as the worthiest of the Roman people."

"Let us not be deceived," says Duruy, "by this title of 'philosopher.' We are about to pass from a most tranquil reign into a history of storms. Whatever may have been said, it is not true that in his domestic relations Marcus Aurelius had the patience of Socrates or the imbecile blindness of Claudius; but this friend of the gods and of humanity will see let loose upon the world every sort of scourge, — inundations, pestilence, famine; this lover of

peace will live in the midst of continual wars, which will cost the provinces innumerable captives, carried off by the Barbarians; lastly, this gentle Emperor will be forced to carry out implacable severities, this just man will shed innocent blood. The contrast between the sentiments of the philosopher and the actual life of the Emperor gives to the public career of Marcus Aurelius a singularly tragic interest." When doctors disagree, who shall decide?

It is not my purpose to speak of all these happenings, — of wars and pestilence and their consequences. Of course they had their influence on the conditions of society, with which we are now concerned; and it is interesting to note the disdain with which Marcus Aurelius regarded the soldier's profession, which he was forced to assume.

"A spider," said he, "is proud of having taken a fly, and among men one is proud of taking a hare, another a fish, a third wild boars and bears, a fourth the Sarmatians! In the eyes of the sage are they not all robbers?"

During the earlier portion of the reign of this wonderful man, the Christians were free to live as they chose, and to communicate to all who would listen that marvellous characteristic of Christianity, — love, so new an element in religion. The religions of the world had hitherto been founded in fear or pleasure; they had aroused various human passions, and in certain phases appealed to the imagination; the new gospel appealed to the heart, and Christianity was gaining power through its teaching of love.

It was in the reign of Marcus Aurelius that Walter Pater places that exquisite scene of "The Church in Cecilia's House" in the fourth part of "Marius the Epicurean."

Anything that merited the name of charity was unknown in ancient and pagan Rome. If it made itself felt here and there, as in the case of Livia, it was but like the exception which proves its opposite. All the influences from the love of conquest, slavery, and the shows of the

circus and amphitheatre were against every sentiment of affection or sympathy for those who suffered, above all, for the poor and lowest classes. Self-interest alone would lead to care for slaves so far as to see that they were fed, and in a certain sense looked after when ill.

Hospitals, even in a most elementary form, were almost unknown before the third century of our era; and not until

GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION TO THE PEOPLE.

the reign of Antoninus Pius was there any organised charity in Rome. Under his reign Christianity had made immense progress, and we may well assume that the new institutions may be traced directly to Christian influence.

There were now established rules for medical service to those who could not pay for it; and this was not con-

fined to Rome, but in all the cities of the Empire the same system was maintained, and head physicians supplied for each inhabited centre. There were regulations concerning the appointment of these physicians with the intent to secure properly educated men; and after a time a man selected was obliged to obtain the approval of the College of Physicians, in the town where he was to practise, and that of the Emperor himself. Gratuitous distribution of food had long been practised by the Romans, and certain kinds of public charity were now made both gratuitous and compulsory. These benevolences were, however, conducted sadly and painfully; and a comparison between the Christians and pagans in this respect was like a comparison between weak, hopeless, and trembling old age, and an ever youthful spirit of hope and love.

Many words of the Stoics sound like those of the Christians, and some of their deeds bear a resemblance one to the other; but between those who knew no love, and those of whose faith it was the corner-stone, there was a great gulf fixed which could never be overpassed until the numberless souls on that older, farther shore should hear and respond to that new and fervent appeal, "Beloved, let us love one another."

Near the close of the life of Marcus Aurelius Rome was decimated by a frightful scourge of plague; famine, conflagrations, and earthquakes also exhausted their horrors on both the city and the provinces; and the decline of the Roman government and people, dating from long years before the Empire, had so weakened them in all directions that their recuperative power was almost gone. Seeking a support in their great weakness, they turned again to their effete and neglected religion. They raised new altars to the deserted gods, and kindled their fires with zeal; they again sought the oracles with trembling persistence. They sacrificed great numbers of dumb beasts; and, remembering that

their ancestors had offered sacrifices more precious than these, they bethought them of the Christians to whose presence and influence many pagans believed the misfortunes of Rome to be largely due.

Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus each had his method of esteeming the Christians as of little account. Aurelius regarded their refusal to worship the gods, first as a marvel, and later as a crime. Thus the persecution of the Christians came about, on the details of which we need not dwell.

Slowly and surely, however, the conversion of Rome was advancing. In the court and among the more wealthy and pleasure-loving circles, the life of indolence, luxury, and dissipation continued; but under the profligate Commodus the cruelties of Marcus Aurelius were arrested to please his favourite mistress, Marcia; and for one cause and another, during nearly seventy years the Christians were comparatively undisturbed, and were numerous in the court and army, their faith not interfering with their preferment. They had much to do with the education of the young, and, profiting by the work of slave scribes, a great amount of Christian literature was disseminated.

During many periods of the Roman Empire, personal, intellectual, and religious freedom were untrammelled, as at this time, when exceptions to this rule were very rare; and in such years of peace Christianity acquired an influence and magnitude which enabled it to suffer persecution and still take on new strength.

One often wonders if all the tales of the ancient writers should be taken seriously. They were anxious to interest their readers; and the taste of the time was not for stories of quiet, domestic life. We know that the rising generation of the present find the books in which our ancestors delighted "slow and stupid," and turn for relief to the sensationalism of the day. Seneca ridiculed the moralists sharply, saying, "Morals are gone; evil triumphs; all virtue, all justice, is

disappearing; the world is degenerating! This is what was said in our fathers' day, it is what men say to-day, and it will be the cry of our children."

It may be said that their writings are a page of history; granted, so are the fables of La Fontaine and the coarseness of Molière.

Is not the age of Louis XIV., the *grand siècle*, a good illustration of how admirable virtue and contemptible vice may flourish side by side and in spite of each other? The *grand monarque* was surrounded by valiant soldiers, men of science and of great attainments in letters; by upright magistrates; by a society so elegant and noble that it has been celebrated for centuries; there were even saints and martyrs in the France of that period.

But having looked on this pleasing picture, we shall be quite ignorant of the age we are considering if we do not also recognise the truth that in the same nation everything that was odious was flourishing. The hypocrites, the thieving ministers, the judges who were bribed, the women of doubtful virtue, the noblemen who cheated when they gambled, who were all held up to our scorn by Molière, La Bruyère, and others, existed as certainly, and perhaps in greater numbers, than the classes we have first mentioned.

It is no matter of speculation, but a fact proved in certain state trials, that in the time of the Valois the art of causing objectionable people to disappear was perfectly understood, and practised with a certain refinement that was wanting to the methods of Locusta. Would the worst class of French men and women in the highest circles in that day have hesitated at any crime recorded against the Romans of the same type?

The truth seems to be that men with no moral perception exist in all nations, pagan and Christian; and unfortunately one of these attracts more attention, and is more widely known, — especially in our day of so much superfluous and

objectionable journalism, — than hundreds of good men who lead virtuous, benevolent lives and are never heard of beyond their own circle.

In all communities noble virtues and scandalous vices exist side by side; exemplary women and those who are hopelessly immoral; those who spend fortunes wisely and those who scatter them to the four winds; and we must believe that in Rome there were great numbers of admirable men and women of whom no one heard, during the very years when those of whom we hear so much were utterly detestable.

Christianity was barely known to exist in the earliest decades of the Christian era; in the reign of Trajan, although its growth had been silent outside its own circles, it began to be recognised as a living and increasing power. Under Hadrian and the Antonines its doctrines were proclaimed and defended by its bold disciples, and in the time of Marcus Aurelius its martyrs joyfully died for it; and yet there were cultivated men in the second century of our era who knew nothing of its teachings.

But even for such men paganism was dead, and in the favourite philosophies there were many elements that, when formulated into a rule of life, but just escaped being the Christian rule; as Saint Augustine concisely said, "By the change of a few of their words and ideas, the Platonists would become Christians."

From the time of Marcus Aurelius to that of the establishment of the Christian Church as the Church of Rome under Constantine, almost every phase of Roman life which we have observed repeated itself again and again, modified and exaggerated in greater or less degrees in accord with the individual characters of the various emperors, with the conditions of peace or war, etc. During the above-mentioned period the decadence of the Empire was rapid; and so few and unavailing were the attempts to regain its strength that its decline was essentially uninterrupted.

In spite of persecutions and adverse legal enactments, Christianity gained importance with each passing year, until its members ceased to be counted among the poor alone, to whom the Gospel had first appealed. In the fourth century the mighty theologians, who, on the ruins of the old religions, raised a new and enduring edifice, were carrying on their great work with bold and telling strokes, replacing the cold ethics of pagan philosophy with the ethics of a religion trustfully resting upon the love of God. In a heroic and masterly way such men as Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and many others were inaugurating that teaching of which Lecky says, "under its influence, doctrines concerning the nature of God, the immortality of the soul, and the duties of man, which the noblest intellects of antiquity could barely grasp, have become the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and the alley."

Fascinating as the study of this period ever is, it is an oft-repeated tale, but especially interesting in its social phases in Rome, where Saint Jerome found, not only the extreme of luxurious and dissipated social life, but even in its midst and among the most aristocratic and wealthy circles, those who listened to his teaching with joy. They were ready to abandon all that they held dear for the service of Christ, even when presented to them in the severe and forbidding aspect which this great master habitually imparted to it.

Great numbers of women were counted among the Christian martyrs, and a little later they were numerous among the Apostles. They founded hospitals and convents, and devoted themselves to every phase of charitable work with zealous devotion and self-effacement. Jerome tells of Eustochia and her mother Paula, "that daughter of the Scipios and Gracchi, who, preferring Bethlehem to Rome, exchanged the gold of her adornments for a cabin in Judæa;" and if he permitted his poetic imagination to illu-

mine her ancestry, it does not detract from the heroic sincerity of her Christian character. Fabiola consecrated her fortune to the care of the suffering; Demetrias, "the richest heiress of Rome," entered a convent; Melania, a proud patrician, disappeared from the circle to which she belonged, and did the work of an angel to the sick and suffering, while she caused a deep excitement at Rome, and brought discredit on her faith and its followers by her desertion of her only remaining child, which even her Christian friends could not justify.

Meantime the Christian men of Rome, in attempting to establish their church and to define its doctrines, gave no heed to the government. Their interest was fixed on a future life, and they fled the duties and honours of this world alike; they were equally indifferent to the dangers which threatened their country; they seem not to have considered the Barbarians as *their* enemies; they would not contend against them; saints, martyrs, ministers to the poor and suffering, and men utterly forgetful of themselves in their service of Christ, the Church had produced, but no soldiers, statesmen, or even citizens. Not until the Barbarians overcame Rome and destroyed the old order of things, did the Church become a social force. In the midst of the barbarism of the Middle Ages, she was the champion of humanity, opposing justice to force, charity to cruelty, and holding before the imaginations of men images of tenderness and love, to replace the thoughts of cruelty and hate to which paganism had accustomed them. These were her virtues in the fourth century. Alas! that she has not always retained them.

GOLD COINS OF ANTONINUS.

CHAPTER XIV.

ROMAN EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

DURING the regal period Rome had no literature; indeed, she even lacked the characteristics from which spring such sacred songs as have been the earliest compositions of various nations. Her gods were not human enough to understand the passions and romances of men, much less to enjoy and suffer, hate and love, as mortals do; had Olympia crossed the Ionian Sea and seated itself in Rome, there were no divinities who would have been attracted by its dazzling light or have recognised the aroma of its divine nectar.

It is doubtful if the richness which Niebuhr found in the early Roman songs would appeal to all the readers of his wonderful history. In what language were they written? Certainly no Roman tongue was yet an instrument for poetry or music. It is probable that the following fragment of the hymn of the Fratres Arvales is as fine as any very ancient song that has been preserved: —

"Help us, O Lares! and thou, Marmar, suffer not plague and ruin to attack our folk. Be satiate, O fierce Mars! Leap over the threshold. Halt. Now beat the ground. Call in alternate strain upon the heroes. Help us, Marmar! Bound high in solemn measure."

In the use of this hymn each line was repeated three times, the last word five times.

There were strolling ballad-singers in Latium at a very early period who recited their chants, danced and gesticu-

lated to the sound of the primitive flute or pipe, having but four holes. The chant of the Fratres Arvales would suit no metre, and was undoubtedly a recitative.

There is, however, the very ancient Saturnian or Faunian metre; it is not Greek, and is conjectured to have been Latin. The following lines illustrate this metre, but they are probably of a more recent date than the ancestral lays which children recited, all of which had disappeared before the time of Cato the Elder.

"That which, misfortune dreading — sharply to afflict him,
An anxious parent vowed here, — when his wish was granted,
A sacred tenth for banquet — gladly gave his children
To Hercules a tribute — most of all deserving;
And now they thee beseech, that — often thou wouldst hear them."

The Twelve Tables denounced songs as evil, and went so far as to forbid the wailing of women at funerals. "The trade of a poet," writes Cato, "in former times was not respected; if any one occupied himself with it, or was a hanger-on at banquets, he was called an idler."

Mommsen calls Appius Claudius "the incarnation of the idea of progress." His aqueduct and road would have justified this judgment, but his works were not confined to magnificent engineering. To him may also be attributed the beginning of Roman jurisprudence, grammar, oratory, and poetry. His Pythagorean poems, the first Roman work in Hellenic style, and the advice of a farmer to his son, called "Works and Days," were probably of the end of the third century B. C., and we have simply the knowledge that such works existed; in fact, nothing written so early is still known, with the exception of one or two epitaphs. At this period, however, the register of the magistrates may be said to have been the beginning of the writing of contemporary history. The earliest register by which we have indirectly profited was that of the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. As would naturally happen, these registers were not strictly

confined to the names of the magistrates, but important events were noted with the names of those in whose term of office they occurred; and from these notes — just as the chronicles of the Middle Ages were founded on the memoranda of the table of Easter — the Roman annals proceeded.

These Annals were, for some centuries, very meagre; and even after it was made one of the duties of the Pontifex Maximus to record every event of importance and preserve the records, they were still far from affording an exact historical guide, and the opportunity still existed for disagreements on many important points.

Not only so, but positive attempts were made to misrepresent the historical facts of the earliest days in Rome. Many marvellous tales, like those of the death of Remus, of the exploits of Horatius Cocles, of the Horatii and Curatii, etc., probably based on facts which, without ornament, would be very meagre, were not only improved by frequent repetition, but were finally linked together in such a manner as to make a connected tale, at a very early epoch. We congratulate ourselves that this was done, and appreciate the pleasures that we should otherwise have been deprived of; but there can be no doubt that these delightful imagination-stories were the tales of the Roman gossips long before anything that could be called literature existed in Rome.

We are taught that a bronze casting of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus was already placed beside the sacred fig-tree in the time of Appius Claudius; doubtless all Romans then knew the story of the origin of their city in very much the same form as it has been repeated by a succession of writers ever since their day.

In the middle of the third century before our era — the fifth from the foundation of Rome — the pontifical college determined on keeping a fuller chronicle of Roman history than had before existed. We may well believe that they

CICERO.

then began at the beginning, and not only wrote the story of the regal period, and fixed the date of the establishment of the Republic in 509 B. C., but they also wrote a genealogical account of the principal families of Rome, all being, according to this record, of most illustrious descent.

Perhaps the oldest Roman writing that merits the name of a book is the legal code, known as the Twelve Tables, dating from 451 B. C. and the following year. After this time, it is probable that all important decrees were regularly recorded. This most important document was expressed in the sonorous and majestic language so characteristic of the people who used it, — a language admirably suited to the expression of absolute, bald facts and the exposition of laws, but utterly insufficient for the conveyance of abstract ideas; a fault not perceptible to the early Romans, who had no such ideas to express.

In this language, however, orators came to delight; and through its use in the camp, in the Senate, and from the rostra, it acquired suppleness and softness, and under the control of Cicero and Livy became the vehicle of flowing eloquence.

The only science created by the Romans was that of jurisprudence, and its foundations were very early laid. As we have seen, they were desirous of recording laws and decrees rather than occurrences; and at a very remote period it was customary for those who held the offices of jurymen and magistrates to consult the pontifices on questions relating both to legal and religious matters, thus laying the basis for what became the splendid structure of private Roman law. In 280 B. C., Tiberius Coruncanius opened a school of jurisprudence, to which not only those who were fitting for official positions, but any who presented themselves, were admitted and listened to explanations of the law; from this beginning such schools rapidly multiplied.

The teaching of grammar and the proper construction of the language early demanded attention; and the examination of ancient writings shows the gradual introduction of new letters and words, and very soon there were not only Latin "writing-masters," but Greek "language-masters," or tutors, many of whom were slaves; in spite,

however, of a certain advance in school instruction, it was still in an elementary stage. Language is the root of all culture; and in Rome — where public speaking was so important a factor in life, and where men at an early age came to the management of their estates and were liable to be called upon to address public assemblies — great efforts were made, even in boyhood, to acquire a ready and polished use of their mother-tongue, as well as of Greek.

Early in the second century B. C., this language was familiar to great numbers of Romans, including even those of the lower classes, while public speakers frequently addressed Greeks in their own tongue, as did Tiberius Gracchus in Rhodes, 163 B. C.

Flaminius, when complimented by the Greeks in Latin, dedicated gifts to Greek deities in Greek distichs; and Cato indignantly resents the conduct of a Senator who delivered Greek recitations, at Greek revels, *with all the proper modulations*.

The general diffusion of elementary education was not essentially inferior among the early Romans to that of our day. There were slaves who filled the office of steward acceptably, and among all the lower classes the knowledge of reading, writing, and counting was common.

About 150 B. C. a great change in theories and practice had taken place. Education, which, in the earlier centuries, especially in regard to language, had been empirical, now became a worthy study of literature, naturally resulting in a more general culture, and the Greek tragedies and comedies became the delight of Latin scholars. No corresponding process was possible in the study of their own language, since no Latin literature existed. This enormous want began to be deeply felt by the Romans; and their increasing acquaintance with the Greek dramatic literature revealed to them their lamentable poverty in having no theatre that merited the name. The Roman stage presented

dances and jugglery only, the improvised chants having neither plot nor dialogue.

The culmination of Rome, from the point of the purely Roman idea, was reached when she had no literature. From the Roman point of view, schools and literature, above all, dramatic literature, were most undesirable. Schools were destructive of the Roman theory that all men should be equal, a like faith and a like culture being the only desirable standard, while nothing could be more antagonistic to the earnest and active spirit of the early Roman than the idleness and gaping curiosity of the theatre.

Nevertheless, the school and theatre became the most effective influences in furthering the progress of the age. Roman poetry did not originate in a poetical impulse, but in a demand for Latin writings and a Latin drama. From this condition a poetry and a literature resulted written in the Latin language, in the Greek spirit.

In spite of the obstinate "brilliant conservation" of this era, the entire field of thought and study, outside of the absolutely political arena, was appropriated, so to speak, by Hellenism. A Roman literature was created, we must grant, because the writers were Romans, and they wrote in their own tongue, but their works were utterly lacking in originality or characteristic thought.

The very earliest Roman author was a Greek, if I may be pardoned so truthful an Hibernianism. When, among other captives taken at Tarentum in 272 B. C., he was brought to Rome, his name was Andronikos. As a slave, he was at times an actor; again he copied texts and taught the boys of wealthy parents, in which latter calling he became so distinguished that his master gave him his freedom, when he became Lucius Livius Andronicus, and is known in literature as Livius.

Before becoming an author he had translated the Odyssey for his own use in teaching, and thus made the earliest

Roman school-book, which was so worthily done that it held its place in the education of Roman youths for centuries. In 207 B. C. he was commissioned to write a thanksgiving chant for the good fortune of Rome in the war with Hannibal; and the authorities, out of regard for Livius, conceded to the guild of poets and actors a place for worship in the Temple of Minerva.

As an actor, Livius wrote his texts and published them as books, which means that he distributed copies of them and read them in public; and gradually he displaced the ancient lyrical chant of the Roman stage and substituted the Greek drama. His works had no real excellence, and were very soon laid aside; but the first production of a play on the Roman stage, in 240 B. C., gives him, as its author, an enduring fame. It was an historical event; and although the drama itself soon became a curiosity rather than an ornament of literature, he had the honour of laying the corner-stone of Roman dramatic art.

This introduction of the Greek drama did not change the estimation in which the author, actor, and composer were held. They were still considered as disreputable, and were subject to abusive treatment from the police. The manager and chief actor, usually one and the same person, was a freedman, as a rule, while his company were slaves, as were the composers whose names have been preserved. If the piece failed the dramatist received nothing, and if it succeeded he was paid but a meagre sum.

Tragedy was frowned upon in Rome; and the principal comedies, translated from the newer Attic writers, were tediously monotonous. Jests and drollery, usually introducing some questionable allusions, were the staples of these plays; and as charades and riddles occupied, in the private society of the period, the place which in more cultivated circles is given to conversation, so they were freely introduced upon the stage. There was, however, a

great deal of interest in these Attic comedies, especially in those of Menander, and from them much may be learned of the customs of the day; but they were Greek, and we are seeking a Roman literature.

There was, nevertheless, a certain wisdom in thus representing a foreign life upon the Roman stage, since for political reasons it would have been quite impossible to reproduce the life of Rome in such a manner as to render it amusing; or, in a more serious aspect, to "point a moral" from its customs. Dramatic spectacles were furnished by ædiles and prætors who depended on the Senate, and even funeral games were authorised by the government, while the police were watchful to detect and punish the slightest fault in comedians. Thus it was but prudent to amuse the Romans at the expense of the Greeks, rather than to hold the mirror up to their own follies.

For these reasons the Roman dramatic writers produced colourless, flavourless works. Nothing could be more tame, politically, than the dramas of Plautus; in fact, they make no references to anything of contemporary interest. Gnæus Nævius dared to pursue a different course, and was imprisoned until he made public recantation in other comedies. Thus it resulted that during the most exciting periods the Roman stage betrayed no knowledge of national events, and one could search the native drama of the time and find no key to the military or political position, except there should occur a carefully worded sentence of congratulation on the success of the Roman arms.

In spite of the disapprobation of Nævius, which apparently drove him into exile, he was the first Roman who can reasonably be called a poet; and, as far as can be judged from what is known of him and the remaining fragments of his verse, he was of much importance in Roman literature. Nævius was neither a slave, freedman, nor patrician, but belonged to a family of good repute; and

although the accounts of him are confusing as to dates, he is said to have been a soldier in the first Punic War. He wrote epic, tragic, and comic verse, and was easy and clear in style, without artifice or severity. He was the first Roman to draw his inspiration from the history and the life of his own people. For the first time he made his writing to dominate the actor, and to all his work he gave a national character; while his mirth was living and spontaneous, and his poems, as a whole, gave expression to his absorbing interest in his own time.

Nævius attempted to create a grave Roman drama, of which his "Nursing of Romulus and Remus, or The Wolf," and "*Clastidium*," which celebrated the Roman victory over the Celts, are examples. But his achievement in his metrical chronicle of the first Punic War was of more importance, since it made him the first author of a Roman historical work. He attempted no poetical flights, and his lines are of much the same order as the rhyming chronicles of the Middle Ages; it is not as poetry, however, that it is important, but as a straightforward story of a most interesting event; and it was no small matter thus to usher in the writing of Roman history — which as yet had not gone beyond the official records — by a connected account of such occurrences as this author related.

Nævius died in exile at Utica; and, determined to perpetuate so far as possible his disapprobation of the Greek influence in Rome, he wrote his own epitaph: "If the gods could weep for mortals, the Muses would weep for Nævius, the poet. When he went down into the treasure-house of Pluto, the Latin language was forgotten at Rome."

Titus Maccius Plautus, 254–184 B. C., is so often mentioned in connection with Roman literature that his name cannot be omitted even from an outline of the subject; but the difficulty of deciding between what he composed and what he translated and edited — a question that the ancients

were unable to answer — and the necessity of lengthy discussions of this matter excludes him from more than the briefest mention here. The productions known as "Plautine pieces," which are numerous, prove him to have possessed certain talents not always apparent in a translator and editor. Having been an actor, he had the advantage of knowing what was likely to please both actors and audiences. His skill in producing dramatic effects, his clever dialogue, his handling of language and metre, his happy jokes, and such humour as produces an irresistible laugh, would have made him famous. Other curious characteristics, as shown especially in his coinage of nicknames and absurd words, vindicate the appreciation which the Romans gave him, and explain the frequent mention of his plays in later times.

SCENE OF A COMEDY.

Another comedian of this epoch, Statius Cæcilius, was inferior even to those of whom we have spoken; and although he was flattered and protected by later critics, it is not easy to find a sufficient reason for their complaisance. It is a pitiable picture that the Roman drama presents at this period. It has been aptly termed "the academy at once of Hellenism and vice." It was most immoral, and shameless in its immorality; it made a life of debauchery attractive, and not only sowed the seeds, but cultivated the growth of indecency and coarseness in all the relations of life.

While the comedy-writers were not permitted to lay their scenes in the capital, they were allowed to picture the life in certain Italian towns that were not identified with Rome. Accordingly, an original Latin comedy was created, known as the *fabula togata*, this adjective indicating its Italian origin. Titinius first wrote these comedies; and beyond the titles of a few of his plays, we have no information concerning him. In this comedy the actors wore the toga; the scenes were laid in middle-sized towns, and Latin life was depicted with frankness, many female characters being introduced. Neither in Rome nor elsewhere did these plays successfully rival the Greek comedies.

The tragic drama in Rome is much less known to us than the comic. It probably was not essentially later in its introduction, but it was not as popular, and the expense of putting a tragedy on the stage was so much greater that in a time of large expenses, like those of the war with Hannibal, this reason doubtless was influential in preventing a frequent presentation of tragedies. Quintus Ennius was the only tragedian contemporary with the comedians whom we have mentioned, and the most influential Roman poet of his time, 239–169 B. C., though scarcely the most important. Half Greek by birth, and wholly so by training, he settled in Rome when thirty-five years old. He was poor and supported himself by teaching, by the proceeds of his translations and original writings, and from gifts made to him by certain wealthy Romans who affected Hellenism and loved flattery. He even went, as a sort of poet-laureate, to the war with them, preparatory to singing the praises of the great deeds which they intended to perform.

The best works of Ennius were his tragedies, in which he was a complete imitator of Euripides. He was a free-thinker, and inculcated irreligion to an extent that apparently should have incurred the disapprobation of the Roman censors. He was also a radical, and did not hesitate to make

this manifest in his writing, while he discarded the Saturnian, or Roman measure, and wrote in the Greek hexameter, the success with which he handled it showing him to be much more Greek than Roman. Ennius had no comic vein, and was not a great poet in any direction; but he succeeded best in tragedy, was clever enough to perceive this, and to do what he could do well.

His "Annals," an historic epic, so closely imitated Homer that wherever it was possible he directly translated from Homer; for example, the description of the burial of those who were killed at Heraclea is modelled on the burial of Patroclus, etc. He opened the poem with a vision in which it was declared that the soul of Ennius had been first that of a peacock and then of Homer, before taking up its abode in the author of the "Annals." The intense sympathies of the poetic nature of Ennius could not fail to be aroused by the wonderful story of the Punic War, and he doubtless presented the serious Roman character with Homeric simplicity; but in spite of its excellences the best critics agree that the "Annals" fell short of his tragedies. He coolly dubbed himself the "Roman Homer;" and the work certainly must have had a success, as it remained in high consideration for generations, and presented the strange phenomenon of a half, or more than half, Greek poem by a half-Greek writer, holding the first place as a model Roman production. Quintilian praised it and said, "Let us revere Ennius as we revere an ancient sacred grove, whose mighty oaks of a thousand years are more venerable than beautiful."

Ennius was buried with the Scipios; and they placed his statue on the cenotaph erected by them, near the Porta Capena, between the statues of Asiaticus and Africanus.

When a prose literature arose in Rome side by side with poetry, beginning at about the same time, it attracted far less attention because it was not forced into notice by its presentation on the stage, nor by the disapproval of the

censors. The writers of prose were men of aristocratic families; and, strangely enough, in spite of their conservatism, they wrote in Greek. Even the "Histories" of Quintus Fabius Pictor, 201 B. C., and of Publius Scipio, thirty-seven years later, were written in the Hellenic tongue, and it was left for Cato in his "Origines" to write the first important Roman prose work in Latin.

The semi-historical books mentioned above all told the story of Rome from its foundation to the time of the writing, although their titles by no means suggested this; in comparison with the records which had been kept, they merited the name of histories, although they would not satisfy a lofty conception of what history should be. As might be foreseen, these books did not agree in their accounts of the founding of Rome and other important occurrences, concerning which there had always been more than one story. There were legends to be followed through the regal period, which ceased with the beginning of the Republic and were most insufficiently replaced by the sparse records of the government annals. It is curious to note the different methods in which the early historians met this difficulty. Nævius passed, apparently without delay, from the regal period to the war involving Sicily; Ennius gave but a scanty outline of the first two centuries, and Cato took his readers into his confidence by saying that he took no pleasure "in relating what was set forth on the tablet in the house of the Pontifex Maximus, how often wheat had been dear, and when the sun and moon had been eclipsed," and thus freed himself from all shackles and wrote of the union of Italy under the leadership of Rome, the subject which especially appealed to him. In the course of these early histories all contemporary occurrences were fully treated.

Another department of historical literature was already in existence in Cato's time, — that of speeches and letters. Some funeral orations had been preserved, when Cato wrote out

such of his orations as had historical value; a portion of these were published with his history and others later, when he also made a collection of his letters.

It is curious to note how frankly uncritical these authors were of themselves and of each other, although their chronological errors were most apparent. They also permitted the expression of their party feelings with equal frankness, and yet were innocent of any intentional misrepresentation of facts.

When once the making of books begins they multiply with rapidity, and this was as true in Rome as it has been elsewhere in modern times.

During the epoch that we have been studying, books on grammar were written, and Cato's poem on Morals and Instructions in Oratory may very well be put down as a treatise on rhetoric and philosophy. Books on medicine, agriculture, jurisprudence, the science of war, etc., may be added to the list. Mathematics and astronomy now also attracted attention, while Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, who, by his predictions of an eclipse of the moon, and calculating the distance between the earth and the moon, had become reputed as a man of great acuteness, came forward as a writer on astronomical subjects.

An important work appeared in 194 B. C., by Sixtus Ælius Pætus, the first jurist of his time. It was called the "*Tripartita*," and treated of the Twelve Tables.

Of all these authors Cato is the most interesting, and this because he was a Roman of Romans, and was determined to think, live, and act from the standpoint of a true Roman. For one thing, those of his own day and of all succeeding centuries are indebted to him; namely, for demonstrating to his countrymen that literary occupation with history and science was a becoming and dignified profession for a self-respecting Roman citizen.

It is interesting, too, to observe how, with all his hatred of Hellenism, he was compelled in his literary work to rely

on what he had learned from Greek literature. The very title of his chief work, "Origines," as well as the idea of the book, were borrowed from the Greek "foundation-histories." Where did he learn what he wrote in his Encyclopædia, except by the study of Greek literature? The truth seems to be that Cato, and with him the national party, comprehended the need of a Latin literature and recognised the necessity of its being influenced by Hellenism; but they were at the same time determined that the new literature should not be a slavish copy of the Greek, but should be developed in accordance with the peculiar characteristics of the nation to which it belonged.

Cicero is authority for the fact that in 90 B. C., the general culture of the Latin towns excelled that of Rome, which is accounted for in good measure by the exodus that had taken place from Rome, leaving there two classes only, — the very rich and the very poor, — while the provinces were filled with Romans. At this time the best literature of the nation was Latin rather than Roman.

The political conqueror of Greece, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, fully recognised the superiority of the Hellenic civilisation, and took care that his children should be benefited by such instruction and training by Greek teachers as, added to the national education, should make them truly cultivated men. In addition to training in the art of the chase and other manly accomplishments as practised in Greece, he gave them such instruction in the Greek language as not merely enabled them to speak it fluently, but, according to the Greek theory of education, they also studied Greek literature in both its historical and mythological bearings, and followed this with rhetoric and philosophy. The time had come when a thorough system of education was appreciated and desired; and the best classes, not only of Rome, but of Italy, adopted the course of Æmilius Paulus in the education of their sons. They now perceived that the whole of

Hellenism with its refinements was preferable to imperfect and misinterpreted portions of its teaching and literature.

There had been no lack of Greek teachers and professors in Rome for generations before this period, but they now literally swarmed in all Italy. Among them were men of great learning, some of whose names we know. Many of them were slaves; and enormous prices, even as many as nine thousand dollars, were paid for a Greek slave of the first rank as a teacher of literature.

Institutions were founded for the practice of declamation in Greek; recitations from Homer were well received and were accompanied by critical examinations of the subject-matter and language of his works; and although, from time to time, some conservative, who could not accept anything later than the opinions of the old Cato, attempted to arrest this flood-tide of Hellenism, it was of no avail.

Moreover, besides this intelligent Greek education Latin instruction also attained a higher level than it had previously reached. The Romans now had a literature of their own, — limited and defective, it is true; and influenced both by pride and a desire to assert themselves in the field of letters, they began to read the works of Nævius, Ennius, and Lucilius to audiences more or less numerous, and to discourse upon these native writings, as the Greeks loved to do upon the works of their authors.

From about 143 B. C., Rome no longer lacked a rhetoric and an oratory quite its own; and the Latin tongue, in its technicalities, vigour, and polish, found full expression when used by Marcus Lepidus Porcina, Marcus Antonius, and Lucius Crassus. The Romans, even in youth, were so frequently obliged to make public addresses that there must always have been an unusual fluency in their use of language; but now oratory was properly taught, and numerous classes were formed for reading, dissecting, and discussing the Latin as well as the Greek writers.

In 100 B. C., the learned knight of Lanuvium, known as "the penman," read with a select circle of young men, in which Varro and Cicero were included. He gave his instruction as the friend of his pupils, not as a school-teacher, and it was considered an unusual privilege to be permitted to listen to his strictly conservative courses. In a word, Latin education now assumed comprehensive importance. Debating clubs were inaugurated and found to be of great value; subjects were chosen and opposite views on them upheld by every argument that could possibly be suggested by the opponents. In these wordy battles, alertness in thought and repartee were successfully cultivated.

It requires no unusual wisdom to foresee the result of this system. The Roman youths learned how to play excellently well with words and arguments, but they lost — if they originally possessed — the quality of genuine eloquence. By means of this finished, artificial training, together with the idea of the humanities, much in vogue at this period, these young Romans were the victims of a curiously contradictory influence; on the one hand, they aimed to be cosmopolitan and ready to accept what they approved from any source, caring not at all to be distinctly Roman, while, at the same time, they became intensely exclusive socially.

The general increase of culture and the frank appreciation which it involved of the vast superiority of Greek literature over anything yet accomplished by the Romans, had the effect of stifling all ambition to enter the field of authorship. The second century B. C., which had been so fruitful in initial attempts in this direction, — which, as such, were by no means unworthy, — was followed by a season of such self-consciousness on the part of the Romans as effectually to destroy all courage, if not all desire, to engage in literary pursuits.

There was also in Rome an important circle of influential and scholarly men, the companions of Scipio Æmilianus,

who treated the works of the Romans of the previous century with such scathing contempt and satire that a man must have been bold to defend Nævius, Ennius, and others, in their company; rather than attempt original creations under these circumstances, the Romans contented themselves with reading and admiring the works from the other side of the Ionian Sea.

It was still considered beneath a Roman of position to write plays; this style of composition was regarded as a trade, and unprofitable at that. However, this estimation of dramatic writing must have changed in 87 B. C., when Lucius Cæsar not only wrote for the stage, but became a member of the "Poets' Club," where he was in close contact with men who could point to no patrician ancestry. This writing now began to be esteemed as a liberal art rather than a debasing trade, and its remuneration was largely increased.

The tragic poet, Pacuvius, a nephew and pupil of Ennius, belonged rather to the century of his uncle, but did not begin his play-writing until well advanced in life. He was considerably praised; but the fragments of his work remaining justify Cicero's criticisms rather than the flattery of his friends.

TERENCE.

Lucius Accius, 170–103 B. C., a contemporary of Pacuvius, and the son of a freedman, was more successful as a writer of tragic poetry. Accius also wrote upon grammar and literature; his style was far less crude than that of the Romans who preceded him, but purists, like Lucilius, find much to dispraise in his works.

As in the beginning of Roman dramatic writing, comedy was more important than tragedy, so it continued to be. In

the works of Terence, 196–159 B. C., it reached a far more artistic level than with other early Roman writers. In fact, the comedies of Terence were worthily imitative of Hellenic writings in the same vein. The personal history of this poet was interesting and unusual. Brought from Africa a slave, he was sold to a Roman Senator, P. Terentius Lucanus, who, first attracted by his physical beauty and later by his intelligence, gave him such an education as made it a duty to add to it the gift of freedom. According to custom, when free he took his master's name, Terentius.

When he presented his first comedy, "*Andria*," for the approval of the curule ædiles, he was referred to Cæcilius, who was himself an unusually popular playwright. The mean attire and humble station of the new author were soon forgotten by Cæcilius, who recognised the superiority of the "Andria," and ended by inviting Terence to share his supper and his couch. Some time elapsed, however, before the comedy was staged. Copies of it were circulated and were adversely criticised; but when once it was acted, it attained success, and proved the means of introducing Terence to the recognition and acquaintance of the most cultivated circles in Rome. Lollia and the younger Scipio were among those who treated him as an equal in every respect.

Terence went to Greece, where he carefully studied the dramas of Menander, who was his model, and on whose works it has been said that Terence made an improvement in style. Although an African and a freedman, this author shares with Cicero and Cæsar the honour of writing pure Latin. He died in Greece in his thirty-sixth year, leaving six comedies, which still survive him.

Commendable as were the literary characteristics of the plays of Terence, and in spite of the favour which they gained in the Scipionic circle, they were not popular with theatre-goers, who voted them dull and feeble; but his patrons generously sustained him.

In 134 B. C., the comedies of Plautus, which had been extremely popular with the galleries, as we should say, were omitted from the list of stock plays in Rome.

Farces, which had been in favour at a very early date in Latium, were now revived, under the name of *Atellanæ*, or plays of Atella, so called from the town of that name. Formerly these plays had not been written out, and were principally acted by amateurs. Before the time of Cicero, however, regular actors were engaged for farces, while amateurs and untrained country people continued to use them as well.

This class of amusement had long been very popular in Lower Italy, and from there the Romans may have derived a new impulse in this direction. Like most farces, those of the Romans had a vein of coarseness, which sometimes became vulgarity, not to say indecency; but they conformed to the general laws of literature, and though written in Greek metres were popularly national in sentiment. They abounded in a vivid delineation of character, in jokes, and in curious epigrammatic and proverbial sentences, and rapidly won a good position among the amusements of the capital.

The Romans were curiously extravagant in erecting miserable wooden shanties for theatrical purposes. The prejudices of their ancestors prevented them from building proper theatres; and yet, recognising the increasing popularity of the drama, they again and again put up these board constructions and decorated them at a very considerable cost. About 174 B. C. the scenic arrangements were much improved; the masks, which had fallen into disuse, were restored, and all the details of stage presentations became a government charge. About thirty years later, a theatre with seats, essentially in the Greek fashion, was erected, and the machinery and appurtenances of the stage were rapidly and carefully improved.

From the time of Nævius and Ennius, epic poetry found

few representatives, none of whom are important. The *Satura*, however, attained great popularity. This may be described as epistolary poetry. It followed no rules, and each specimen of it was coloured by the character of the writer. It could scarcely be called literature, and was, in absolute truth, neither poetry nor prose. Most people, in the course of their lives, write or receive such rhyming letters as made a large proportion of the Satura.

The letters written to his friends by Spurius Mummius, from the camp at Corinth, were considered most amusing when they were a century old, but the most noted writer of this class was Gaius Lucilius, the maternal grand-uncle of Pompey the Great, 148–103 B. C. He may be called the precursor of the great satirists, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. He was a native of Suessa, and belonged to a reputable family; he became one of the envied Scipionic circle, in truth, an intimate friend of Scipio himself.

It is difficult to assign a place to satire, but if it be an art, it was created by Lucilius. Moreover, it was the one art, original with the Romans and bequeathed by them to posterity. Personally, Lucilius had unusual advantages for the pursuit of his style of composition. He was not wealthy according to the Roman standard of his day, but he had a handsome house in Rome, and was entirely independent. He was not a Roman burgess, but a Latin, and could therefore hold no official position, while his tastes were not in accord with the pursuits of the merchant nor the farmer. Associated with the Roman grandees, he knew the political affairs in which they were involved, being himself quite disconnected from them. He was caustic and capricious, and at the same time sensible, with a fund of wit and good-humour that were apparently inexhaustible. He assailed the evils of his age fearlessly and remorselessly; the wit of his writing is like a drawn sword, and his imagery rich and abundant. While he occupied himself considerably in criticising orthography and

prosody, he took no time to be over-nice in his own diction. He seems to have been so full of what he was saying that he used the first word that presented itself, be it Latin or Greek.

"The poems of Terence and those of Lucilius stand on the same level of culture," says Mommsen, "and have the same relation to each other as a carefully prepared and polished literary work has to a letter written on the spur of the moment. But the incomparably higher intellectual gifts and the freer view of life, which mark the knight of Suessa as compared with the African slave, rendered his success as rapid and brilliant as that of Terence had been laborious and doubtful: . . . the uncommon popularity of the Lucilian poem is, in a historical point of view, a remarkable event; we see from it that literature was already a power, and beyond doubt we should fall in with various traces of its influence, if a thorough history of this period had been preserved. Posterity has only confirmed the judgment of contemporaries; the Roman judges of art who were opposed to the Alexandrian School assigned to Lucilius the first rank among all the Latin poets."

The most celebrated passage remaining from the writings of Lucilius is his definition of virtue: —

"Virtue, Albinus, is — A constant will
The claims of duty ably to fulfil.
Virtue is knowledge of the just, sincere,
The good, the ill, the useless, base, unfair,
What we should wish to gain, for what to pray.
This virtue teaches, and each vow to pay;
Honour she gives to whom it may belong,
But hates the base, and flies from what is wrong.
A bold protector of the just and pure,
She feels for such a friendship fond and sure.
Her country's good commands her warmest zeal,
Kindred the next, and latest private weal."

The historian Polybius is a most interesting character in the history of literature. To him we owe a very large, and certainly the best, part of our knowledge of Roman history, although he was a Greek. Carried to Rome with other Achæan hostages, after the third Macedonian War, he lived

seventeen years in exile. In Rome he moved in the best circles of society, and after his return to Greece he acted as a mediator between his confederacy and Rome. From the natural fitness of his temperament and intellect, and from his position as a Greek statesman and hostage in Rome, — respected and even envied for his scholarship by the best Romans of that day, — he had every opportunity for seeing and estimating all that was occurring in all parts of the Greek and Roman world; and he clearly foresaw that all the Mediterranean countries would be united under Roman government and Greek culture.

Seeing the conditions thus clearly and practically, he wrote his history from this standpoint; where others had written but chronicles or histories of a single city or state, Polybius wrote a comprehensive work in which he endeavoured to give the actual historical succession of events. Trivial matters are omitted, while important and interesting facts are marshalled in their proper order.

That Polybius was especially fortunate in drawing his materials from original sources is apparent: he cross-examined eye-witnesses of certain events; he saw much of what he related with his own eyes; and he carefully visited every portion of the territory of which he wrote. There was no advantage, apparently, that an historian could covet that he did not have.

But in spite of all these favourable circumstances he did not write an attractive history; he indulged too extensively in personality. He realised that to the Romans he was a Greek, and to the Greeks a deserter, and knew that if ever his work attained distinction it must be with future generations. These reflections embittered him, and he sometimes permitted himself to forget that he was writing Roman history.

In comparison with other Greek historians, his style is inartistic and dull, while his treatment of religious matters is unpardonable. The highest praise, however, may be accorded

to his truthfulness and clearness; indeed, the debt we owe him can scarcely be overestimated; his book stands out from the mist in which the history of Rome had previously been enveloped with the radiance of a pharos in midnight darkness, and is not less brilliant in contrast with what preceded than with what followed it, as his successors profited nothing from his eminent qualities.

The writings of native Romans during a century and a half preceding the Christian era consisted of such chronicles, memoirs, letters, speeches, and scientific treatises that, whatever their importance may have been when written, they now appear so crude and incomplete as scarcely to merit mention. The official chronicles were practically discontinued after Publius Mucius Scævola, about 133 B. C., published eighty books containing a digest of these records; portions of their contents are sufficiently absurd and fanciful to throw doubt upon the whole, and are extremely tiresome in the minuteness of their detail. Some of their statements would be most amusing were it not pitiable to think that they were taken seriously by people of their age, although there were those even then who considered them as only suitable for crones and children.

The year, month, and day when King Romulus ascended to heaven were duly recorded, and Piso soberly informs us that this king-god avoided intoxication the day before he was to meet the Senate. Most interesting details concerning Æneas were given, and his vessel shown in the docks at Rome; while the very sow which had acted as his guide was well pickled and made one of the treasures preserved in the Temple of Vesta.

Among the great mass of memoirs, letters, and speeches of this period were some of interest and a certain degree of excellence. Roman consuls of importance and even the regent Sulla wrote their personal stories, but they could scarcely influence the history of literature. The letters of

Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, were most interesting, not only for the spirit and the classical purity with which they were written, but also as being the first literary work of a Roman lady and the first correspondence published in Rome. The speeches of Gaius Lælius and Scipio Africanus glowed with noble patriotism and were masterpieces of finished Latin, while the speeches of Caius Gracchus seemed to be informed with the lofty bearing, the passionate earnestness, and the tragic story of his life.

Many law-books of one kind and another appeared at this time, but those of Quintus Mucius Scævola were most important, and became the basis of succeeding treatises on kindred subjects.

From the death of Ennius to the time which we know as the "Ciceronian age," epic poetry does not appear, while the same may be said of tragedy; and history, such as merits the name, was utterly neglected. During the same period, however, there was much intellectual energy devoted to antiquarian subjects, to the study of language, to jurisprudence, and certain indications in the composition of poetry clearly prophesied the advent of Roman Alexandrinism. Meantime, the methods in composition were vastly improved, and the ruggedness of the sixth century was replaced by a smoother and freer style, which, as it produced nothing of especial value, was not, after all, of vast importance.

In the training of youth great advance was made between the periods when Cato wrote his Encyclopædia and Varro his treatise "concerning the school-sciences." The curriculum had been liberally enlarged by the addition of geometry, astronomy, and music; even the study of architecture was a gentlemanly accomplishment, and in the villa-building age some knowledge of that art was a necessity. The study of medicine received much attention; and instruction in both the Greek and Latin tongues was far more scholarly than in the second century B. C. Since oratory had taken

a prominent place in Rome, the importance of correct speech was far more appreciated; at the same time contemporaneous critics lamented that Greek culture in Italy had degenerated, and complained that, as a rule, only old ladies, whose education belonged to an earlier date, spoke pure, elegant Latin. In short, "the tradition of genuine culture, the good old Latin mother wit, the Lucilian polish, the cultivated circle of readers of the Scipionic age," had almost disappeared, according to the critics of the half-century preceding the Christian era.

Julius Cæsar, by his resolve to establish public libraries, and by honouring physicians and teachers of liberal sciences, was practically using his influence toward the provision by the State of a better system of education for the Roman youth. But while in some respects an advance in education was indicated, a custom was introduced which was largely destructive of scholarly speech and of its appreciation.

A marked distinction began to be made between the "language of life" and the orthodox language of scholars; and when orators began to use the idiom of the public, — slang? — and affect to make this idiom serve as an art, the public naturally applauded. Quintus Hortensius, the most celebrated legal orator of the Sullan Age, adopted this innovation, and, as the speech approved by the bar, fixed the standard for the public speaking of the time, this movement not only excluded the most elegant speech from the platform, but was so general in its influence that literature also suffered from its vulgarisms. Happily this craze did not long endure; and the rules of Cæsar and the example of Cicero were of great use in arresting its progress.

Cæsar, the greatest master of language of his age, laid down the rule that foreign words were, to the orator and writer, as dangerous as reefs to the mariner, and to be as carefully avoided; and in his opinions of what language should be, he laid the foundation of Roman classicism,

HORTENSIUS.

which was so ably illustrated in the voluminous writings of Cicero. This great Roman had, in his youth, approved the style of Hortensius; soon, however, his own taste and the example of the Rhodians, to whom he listened, so impressed on him the error of the vulgar method, that he afterwards adhered to the strictest models in purity of language, as well as in the arrangement and modulation of his oratory and his composition. When Cicero succeeded Hortensius as the leader of the bar, he became the dictator of language, and his classicism was soon adopted as the standard for both writing and speech. Its realm even ex-

tended to the poetry of Catullus, and the poets of his school who suited Ciceronian ideas and methods to their uses.

Finally, a proper grammatical science arose; and under the rule of Roman classicism language was brought into line, so to speak, and put under regulations that controlled its use and established a tribunal for decisions which had heretofore depended on experience. These decisions were by no means universally accepted, as may be demonstrated by the comparison of contemporary authors; the extreme vulgarism that had threatened the language of the Romans was certainly arrested, but as men still lived who were republicans rather than monarchists, so there were scholars and authors of no inconsiderable rank who preferred the classicism of an earlier day before that of Cæsar and Cicero, as we shall see in the works of Varro.

The literary activity of this period was enormous, and largely encouraged by the influx of scholarly and accomplished Greeks. Great numbers of the wealthy nobles surrounded themselves with Greeks, who contributed to their well-being in every department of service, — from the cook and the jester, who aided the digestion of the master by perfection in their departments, up to the philosopher who taught him what he should think; the poet who flattered him judiciously or otherwise as his personal vanity might suggest, and the biographer who would hand him down to posterity in whatever rôle he most desired to appear. These cultivated Greeks, not blinded to the coarseness of their employers by their good pay and the luxury in which they lived, added to their other remunerations the pleasure of repeating to one another amusing tales of the households in which they became familiar, and of writing witty epigrams on the same topics. How amusing must it have been, for instance, to Aristodemus of Nysa, to demonstrate to his masters that Homer was a Roman!

The activity in the Roman world of letters was now

surprising. Apparently, not even our own time excels that epoch in literary fruitfulness. There was a perfect rain of poems, pamphlets, and books, on all sorts of themes. The great number of Greek masters naturally gave a fresh impulse to Greek speech, and there was also a revival of authorship in Greek; this was the exception, however, as native writers confined themselves to their own tongue for serious work, and, like Cicero and Lucullus, occasionally only, published both poetry and prose in Greek.

"Any one who understood the art," says Mommsen, "wrote without difficulty at a sitting his five hundred hexameters, in which no school-master found anything to censure, but no reader discovered anything to praise."

The feminine relatives and friends of the "literary set" in Rome at this era were by no means to be overlooked. They read much, and were careful to have opinions, which they expressed elegantly and fluently, on both Greek and Latin literature. They were witty withal, and talked excellently well; while they did not hesitate to write occasional poems, some of which lost nothing by comparison with many of the productions of the stronger sex. Reading, in truth, had become the constant occupation, almost a monomania, with large numbers of leisurely Romans, both men and women; and wherever they went, their books went with them.

Dramatic literature no longer existed among the Romans, and mimes, or "pictures of life," became customary and popular. They were simple farces which, as a rule, were given in the pit between the acts on the stage, and required neither masks, buskins, nor other accessories. The female parts were taken by women, and the motive was usually from city life. They were carelessly written in vulgar language and obtained no place in literature. Scenic displays were also greatly in fashion; and wild attempts were made to "illuminate," so to speak, every dramatic repre-

sentation, by turning some one of its scenes into a spectacle The trade of the dancing-girl and the actor were extremely lucrative.

The actor Æsopus became a millionaire; Dionysia, a dancer, had an income of ten thousand dollars; and Roscius, also an actor, claimed to have an income of thirty thousand dollars, and at length declined the sum of two hundred dollars for each appearance, which the state had paid him.

The decorations, costumes, and all the setting of the stage had come to be most extravagant. As many as six hundred harnessed mules sometimes crossed the stage in procession, and whole theatrical armies were employed to represent Roman battles and conquests. The people became excellent critics, and every fault in the representation was recognised at once and severely censured. Frequent comparisons are drawn between the Roman stage at this time and the modern French theatre. The mimes of Rome correspond with great exactness to many French farces of to-day; it was not unusual for a Roman dancing-girl to throw off her upper garment and exhibit her skill and grace in this undress; and the people were best pleased when they saw themselves and their unrefined lives reproduced upon the stage, while men of culture regarded these performances with disgust and sighed for artistic dramas artistically presented.

Titus Lucretius Carus, 99–55 B. C., was the author of the very important didactic poem, "Concerning the Nature of Things," which was left unfinished at his death. His life is wrapped in mystery. Nothing is known of his family, and the only accounts which are given of him are so much later than his time that one places little reliance on them. Jerome, in his additions to the Eusebian Chronicles, says that Lucretius, having taken a love-potion which induced madness, composed his works in lucid intervals, and committed suicide when forty-four years old. This, of course, seems alto-

gether unworthy of serious consideration, all the more that some centuries had passed after his death before this was written.

Donatus, in his life of Virgil, says that Lucretius died on the day that Virgil assumed the manly toga, in October, 55 B. C. The poem, his great work, was published in 54 B. C. That he was an ardent Epicurean is shown in his work; he was also a poet of Cæsar's time with the spirit of the early Greeks. One of his great charms is his intimate acquaintance with nature, while his truthfulness places him above the moral level of his age. Some of his descriptions are delightful, even in the translation, which is most difficult in works like this.

> "When sleep reposeful hath bound up the limbs,
> And all the body lies in rest profound,
> Oft as awake we seem our limbs to move, —
> In thickest night seem to behold the sun
> And light of day; to narrow couch confined,
> Our skies, our seas, our hills and woods we change;
> Traverse wide plains with buoyant treading feet;
> Hear world of sounds where night's dread silence reigns,
> And, silent, seem the loud response to give."

The work of Lucretius appealed to a very small audience in his day, which was crowded with poets, — Heaven save the mark, — who produced so little poetry that they would not have been honoured with the name of poets had they not assumed it. In reviewing the remains of the literature of that period, and in reading the existing accounts of the large portion of it that perished, one wonders what books there were in any sense suitable for the perusal of young persons of either sex.

Caius Valerius Catullus, 87–54 B. C., was a contemporary of Lucretius. He belonged to a reputable family, and was born in or near Verona. When still a youth, he went to Rome on an invitation from Manlius Torquatus. By extravagant living he impaired his fortune, and, hoping to retrieve it, he accompanied Caius Memmius to Bithynia. He was

greatly afflicted and saddened by the death of his brother, who accompanied him, and returned to Rome completely shattered in health.

From this time until his death he led a life of dissipation, refusing all offers of political employment. Moore might have written this apology for Catullus: —

> "O blame not the bard, if he fly to the bowers,
> Where Pleasure lies carelessly smiling at Fame;
> He was born for much more, and in happier hours
> His soul might have glowed with a holier flame."

There was an almost endless variety in the poems of Catullus, although by far the largest portion may be classed as amatory. His festal poems are almost dramatic; his elegies are full of melodious lamentation; his pictures of cultivated life and its pleasures, his jests, his manner of presenting the gossip of the day, even his sarcasm, which is not rare, — one and all display a poetic art.

Without doubt, however, his finest poems are those in which he genuinely gives way to his own tenderness, not in love-songs or addresses to his mistresses, for the character of his love-affairs was not such as to call out the best of his nature, but in his mourning for his brother and in his poem to his home, the peninsula of Sirmione. This show the deepest refinement of feeling; and nothing could be more touching than his entreaty to the peninsula, the waters, and all surrounding nature to welcome him to his home, while his description of the emotions excited by the home-coming are exquisite in their delicacy and fervid in emotion. "The Latin nation has produced no second poet," says Mommsen, "in whom the artistic substance and the artistic form appear in such symmetrical perfection as in Catullus."

Though unhappy in so many other directions, he had the satisfaction of being appreciated while he lived, as he certainly was in later days. The verdict of the critics of the Augustan Age made him the peer of Lucretius, and these two

the most important poets of their epoch. With this opinion much later judges agree, and thus the names of these poets, so vastly differing in their personalities and works, have been coupled through almost two thousand years.

Catullus introduced to Rome different kinds of poetry, which he did not, however, invent; these were followed and perfected by his countrymen. Horace excelled him in lyrics; while Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius used the elegiac measure with great success, especially in amatory expression. The love-verses of the Romans, nevertheless, fell far short of those of other peoples, — for example, the Troubadours, — but in later days they were more tender and less gross than those of Catullus.

There was, at this time, a certain kind of writing which was absolutely not poetry and not prose, — a sort of poetical romance composition which had no metre; and in this field no other author was so successful and pleasing as was Marcus Terentius Varro, of Reate, 116–27 B. C. His family was plebeian, but for two centuries had been in the Roman Senate. He was of the constitutional party, and served in Spain as a captain in Pompey's army. As we know, Julius Cæsar desired him to be the librarian of the Greek and Latin libraries which he intended establishing in Rome; and to Varro he confided the care and arrangement of the books which he had himself collected and those acquired by his predecessors in managing the affairs of state.

Varro and Cicero lived in close intimacy and sympathised in their aims and views. Cicero once wrote to Varro thus: "If we cannot benefit the commonwealth in the forum or the Senate, let us endeavour at least to do so by our writings," and in another letter, "Nothing raises your character higher in my esteem than that you have wisely retreated into harbour, — that you are enjoying the happy fruits of a learned leisure, and employed in pursuits which are attended with more public advantage, as well as private satisfaction,

than all the ambitious exploits, or voluptuous indulgences, of these licentious victors. The contemplative hours you spend at your Tusculan villa are, in my estimation, indeed, what alone deserves to be called life."

Varro had another villa at Cumæ, and at both these villas there were very considerable farms. In Reate he had immense flocks of sheep and herds of horses; he possessed still other delightful domains on the banks of the Cassimus, which was a clear, broad, deep stream, and flowed through his estates. By a bridge he reached a charming island; and along the river-banks were spacious pleasure-walks leading to his farm, on which there was an extensive aviary.

After Cæsar's assassination Mark Antony seized this delightful estate as well as nearly all of Varro's wealth, which fact Cicero treats with the most scorching invective in one of his philippics. He draws the contrast between the life of his friend and that of Antony: "How many days did you shamefully revel, Antony, in that villa? From the third hour it was one continued scene of drinking, gambling, and uproar. The very roofs were to be pitied. Oh, what a change of masters! But how can he be called its master? And, if master — gods! how unlike to him he had dispossessed! Marcus Varro made his house the abode of the Muses, and a retreat for study — not a haunt for midnight debauchery. Whilst he was there, what were the subjects discussed — what the topics debated in that delightful residence? I will answer the question, — the rights and liberties of the Roman people; the memorials of our ancestors; the wisdom resulting from reason combined with knowledge. But whilst you, Antony, were its occupant, — for you cannot be called its master, — every room rung with the cry of drunkenness; the pavements were swimming with wine, and the walls wet with riot."

Worse than all, the name of Varro was included in the

list of the proscribed, but he was shielded by Calenus, to whose house Antony often went, not suspecting who was hidden there. At length the names of Varro and Messala Corvinus were taken from the list, and he was free. His library, however, which had been placed in the garden of one of his villas, had been destroyed by the soldiers. Varro henceforth lived in quiet until his death, when he was nearly ninety years old.

The loss of his library made it impossible for Varro to write such things as required books of reference, and he devoted himself to works on agriculture. He treated, moreover, of poultry, game, fish, and various matters which might interest a country gentleman. His book was much more methodical and stiff than that of Cato; and while the latter wrote as a plain country farmer, Varro wrote as a scholar. This is the only work by Varro which has come down to us entire. His book on the Latin language which entitled him to the name of a grammarian is only known in part.

The essays of Varro are the works on which his reputation is grounded. They embrace a wide range of subjects: some are grave and written in simple prose; others are humorous and partly poetical. The first are known as philosophical-historical essays, the last as Menippean Satires. Varro was no philosopher; and wherever his writings touched on philosophical matters, he was childish and almost absurdly stupid. He was an old-fashioned Roman, a scholar and a poet as well as an antiquarian, and used his knowledge of national manners and speech with a fresh and picturesque effect. He said of himself that he did not care especially for antiquated words, and was extremely fond of poetical words, but avoided the latter and used the former.

The grace of his satires and their humour not only delighted his contemporaries, but those who came after

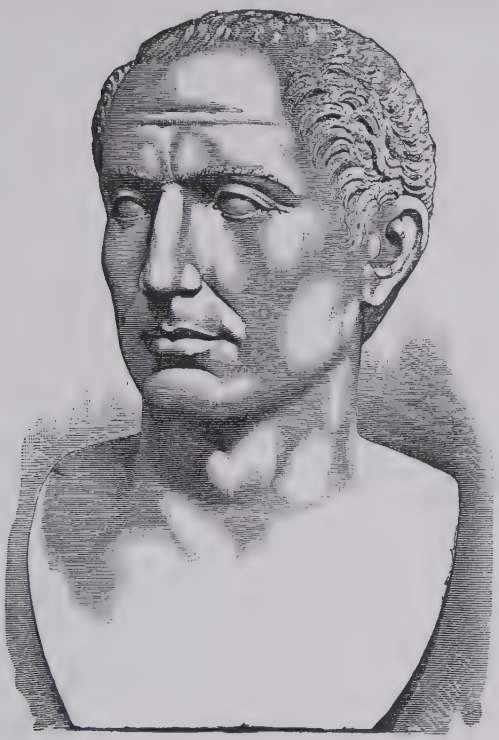
him; and even the fragments that remain prove him to have been one who enjoyed a jest and well knew how to make it. He was the last writer of the old burgess time, and both his character and his satires still have a place in Roman history and literature.

It is surprising that after the time of Polybius, the writing of history, in any sense that merits the name, was utterly neglected. Cicero seems to have told the plain truth when he said, "there is no such thing as Roman historical composition." Although a few names are found, both of books and authors, that have been classed as historical, there is nothing that is of general interest connected with them, until 54 B. C., when Cornelius Nepos wrote biographies of both Greeks and Romans.

These are spiritless and dry, as many beginners in Latin find; and Cæsar's masterly and finished treatise on the Civil War, and his seven books of Commentaries on the Gallic War, are all the more appreciated that they stand out from so dull and uninspiring a background.

In any case, the Gallic War is a delightful work; calm and simple, vivid without affectation, and concise without being scanty. Cicero said of these books that fools might think to excel them, but no wise man would attempt it.

"In his composition as in his actions," says Froude, "Cæsar is entirely simple. He indulges in no images, no laboured descriptions, no conventional reflections. His art is unconscious, as the highest art always is. The actual fact of things stands out as it really was, not as mechanically photographed, but interpreted by the calmest intelligence, and described with unexaggerated feeling. No military narrative has approached the excellence of the war in Gaul. Nothing is written down that could be dispensed with; nothing important is left untold; while the incidents themselves are set off by delicate and just observations on human character."



JULIUS CÆSAR.

If we had not the books on the Gallic War, those on the Civil War would be more emphatically praised; but since the first exist, they must be given the superior rank. The treatment of the Civil War is, however, a monument to certain admirable characteristics of this wonderful man.

The rehearsal of a great revolution by the man most influential in it would naturally be expected to be given with feeling, from a partisan point of view. But in this case, while the subdued emotion of the writer is felt, he gives the facts clearly and simply, neither setting himself in a favourable light and his adversaries in the opposite, nor

giving undue prominence to his triumphs and his motives. Cæsar's superiority is more forcibly proclaimed by his straightforward, unconscious simplicity than it could possibly have been shown by any other manner. There is in the writing of this great man an occasional tenderness that he may have been unconscious of manifesting, which is most attractive.

One wonders when and how he found the time to write. We are told that he was very rapid in his composition, and that this work was done at odd intervals; and yet there is no sign of haste, and certainly no imperfection, to indicate it. "The Commentaries," says Mr. Froude, "as an historical narrative, are as far superior to any other Latin composition of the kind as the person of Cæsar himself stands among the rest of his contemporaries."

The age of Cæsar and his work in it mark a turning-point in the affairs of the world, with a vividness that belongs to few periods. What historical epoch, far enough in the past to be clearly judged, shows a group of men so justly renowned for both good and ill as Cato, Pompey, Cicero, and Julius Cæsar? And to what age so long past pertains greater fascination? From the time when Cæsar refused to put away his wife Cornelia, we see his mettle. Sulla might murder him: he knew that but too well; but he preferred death before dictation like this; and when, after hunting Cæsar to kill him, Sulla consented that the young man should live, the spirit of prophecy seems to have spoken through him: "Take him, since you will have it so; but I would have you know that the youth for whom you are so earnest will one day overthrow the aristocracy, for whom you and I have fought so hardly; in this young Cæsar there are many Mariuses." Whether this tale is a flight of imagination on the part of the old Suetonius or no, it matters not; it does no one harm and is so good that it should be true.

The acumen that Sulla recognised in Cæsar led the latter to suspect that it would be the part of wisdom to remove himself from the path of his enemy. He joined the army in Asia, and discreetly cherished the convictions of his uncle Marius. After Sulla's death Cæsar returned to Rome, and in an attempt at oratory discovered that he lacked training for public speaking; and having no hope of honours at Rome — where Cicero, who was opposed to him politically, was a leader — he retired to Rhodes, and studying under the learned Apollonius, doubtless fitted himself for authorship as well as for oratory.

When, in 68 B. C., he went again to Rome, he was able to do himself credit as an orator, even with Cicero; and his style of speech was like that of his composition, unornamented, clear, and direct. He was made quæstor, and thus had a place in the Senate at the age of thirty-two.

The following eleven years of his life were years of intense political excitement, and Cæsar, having been consul and systematically working on the side of law and order, had made a multitude of friends and enemies alike; no man was ever better loved and better hated. And now, his consulship ended, filled with disgust at the base conditions in high places in Rome, he longed for an opportunity to achieve something that should be for the glory and advantage of his country, — something that should secure his remembrance by Romans. He apparently estimated the *Leges Juliæ* as nothing, and gave no value to the stalwart attitude he had maintained on the side of law and in defence of the people against the aristocrats.

Meantime the Gauls, now a powerful people, were threatening Italy, and their subjection became Cæsar's task. By the authority of the Senate he was made governor of Gaul for five years, with unlimited power over the countries known to us as France, Switzerland, and the German Rhine Provinces.

To the first term of five years a second of the same length was later added.

It was when leaving Rome for the purpose of checking the further advance of the Gauls that Cæsar is said to have reached the Rhone in eight days, when he at once destroyed the bridge at Geneva. From this energetic beginning Cæsar carried on various wars against Gauls, Britons, and his enemies among his own countrymen; in Italy, Greece, Egypt, and finally in Spain; not completing his last campaign until the year 45 B. C. He thus passed nearly thirteen years in camps and struggles. Meantime he had been in Rome in 49 B. C., where he had taken the treasure of the Temple of Saturn to enable him to put himself in a position to follow and subdue Pompey; he went again to Rome in 47 B. C., but for a short time, going once more to Africa, and returning the next year to celebrate four triumphs, — over the Gauls, over Ptolemæus, Pharnaces, and Juba, — not speaking of the victories over his countrymen in various lands.

POMPEY.

A few days elapsed between each of these triumphs. On the first day Vercingetorix was strangled in the Mamertine prison, while Cæsar was ascending the steps of the Capitol on his knees, to avert the wrath of the avenging Nemesis. The Egyptian princess Arsinöe graced a day of triumph; but her life was spared, as was that of the Prince of Numidia, who followed the triumphal chariot and lived to receive his father's crown from Augustus. Although Cæsar had claimed no triumph for his victories over the Romans, portraits of his vanquished foes were borne in the processions, so painted as to represent the manner of their deaths.

The gladiatorial and other spectacles of these triumphal days were even more magnificent than those with which Pompey had dazzled Rome. Even the most brutal Romans shuddered at the carnage they beheld; while great dissatisfaction was engendered by the vast expenditure lavished on these horrors. The silken awning which Cæsar stretched over the spectators in the circus was a crowning wonder to the Romans. Silk came only from India at this time, and was so rare and costly that for long after Cæsar's death even empresses sighed in vain for robes of pure silk.

The building of Cæsar's Forum was, however, a work reflecting so much honour on Rome that no one could disapprove, especially when it was remembered that it was founded with the treasure which he had so painfully conquered from the Barbarians.

Cæsar was not doomed, however, to pass his time at Rome in works of peace, and in establishing the new government which he had in mind. He was again forced to take the field, and in Spain he won his final victories. He returned to Rome to consolidate his power according to his comprehensive plans of legislation. This was in 45 B. C.; and in spite of the enormous responsibilities and anxieties under which he laboured, he found time to give his attention to a scheme for remodelling the legal code, for making a survey and map of the Roman Empire, and other undertakings of a like nature.

He also proved his love and appreciation of literature by his encouragement of literary men. He had demonstrated his talents as an orator and historian, a grammarian and astronomer, and distinguished himself for all time by being *the first man to give a public library to the people as their own property*. He also reformed the calendar and put an end to the dire confusion which had prevailed in the keeping of Roman time.

Cæsar was now apparently on the top wave of popularity.

He was flattered by the aristocrats; and Cleopatra, whom he had invited to Rome, held a court which was frequented by a company of nobles who found a fascination in her smiles. Even Cicero, whose professions of personal purity were so profound, having profited by the treachery of Fulvia, who revealed to him the Catiline conspiracy, now sought the society of the Egyptian queen; he asked favours of her concerning manuscripts and other objects that he desired to obtain from Alexandria, vainly endeavouring to thus excuse himself for visiting her. After frequenting her house and asking her aid in obtaining such things as he wished, he was cowardly enough to speak most contemptuously of her in his private letters, and to pretend that, after all, he knew her but slightly, — a proof, if one were needed, that human nature debases itself in much the same way in all ages and in all lands.

After the news of Cæsar's last success in Spain reached Rome, the Senate and people went beyond all bounds in paying him honours, and it was decreed that he should be called the "Father of his Country." He was also named Imperator, not as an addition to other titles, but as a prefix denoting a permanent and general application. His person was invested with legal sanctity; he was made consul for ten years and dictator for life. He was authorised to wear triumphal robes on all public occasions, as well as a crown of laurel, which he prized inordinately, as it concealed his baldness, which was almost a disgrace among the Romans, it being attributed to excessive dissipation.

A further honour conferred upon Cæsar was that of stamping his face on Roman coins, he being the first to whom his countrymen showed this deference. And, indeed, there was no extreme to which the Senate did not go in glorifying Julius Cæsar. They even swore by his name, and made themselves the guardians of his safety when he refused to have a body-guard.

The active mind of Cæsar was full of plans for his own glory and that of Rome when he was within a year of his death. In some of the schemes which he discussed he doubtless revealed the feverish restlessness by which he was possessed. He fully realised his danger from the nobles, and knew that they would plot against his life and murder him with as little compunction as they would have in killing a dog. He knew that they hated him for his success and for his haughty bearing. But he would take no steps to frustrate any designs that they might cherish. He declared that it was better to die than to live constantly fearing and guarding against death.

During the last year of his life, Cæsar, being in the neighbourhood, invited himself to dine with Cicero in his villa at Puteoli. We cannot but wonder whether Cæsar knew, as we do now, that Cicero had long before expressed, in a private letter, his desire for Cæsar's death, — even for his being taken off by human means if the gods were not ready to claim him. But Cæsar and Cicero were Roman gentlemen of equal temper, sparkling wit, easy manners, great good-humour, and literary accomplishments. As we look back upon this meeting from the standpoint of our present knowledge of these great men, what a privilege, it seems to us, was enjoyed by those who were present at that dinner!

It was also during this last year that Cæsar thought it right to adopt an heir, as he had no legitimate son to succeed him. He chose his grand-nephew, C. Octavius, then in his nineteenth year.

Perhaps the question of making Cæsar king, which now arose, hastened the action of his enemies; and his contemplated departure for the East, where he would be surrounded by his soldiers, would make it difficult to carry out their vile plot. They hastened to perfect their plans, and lured him into their midst, whither he went in spite of signs and warnings which would have detained a weaker man.

YOUNG OCTAVIUS.

Surrounded by those who made a pretence of friendliness in order to kill him, he fell, pierced by more than twenty wounds, which were given with such cowardly hesitation by these despicable murderers that but one of them could have been fatal. With his last breath he exclaimed, "Cursed Casca, what means this?" and turning to another, "What! thou too, Brutus!"

Thus lived and died the man whose Commentaries are the jewel of ancient Roman literature, — the books which after

almost twenty centuries introduce the great Cæsar to millions of youthful seekers for a knowledge of the Latin tongue, who in this study come to know a great general of armies who "fought his battles," as Froude says, "to establish some tolerable degree of justice in the government of the world."

The works which Cæsar is known to have written which have perished, are, — "*De Analogiâ*," written while he was crossing the Alps; a book on the "Auspices," to which he gave so little practical heed; a commonplace book, which he kept from boyhood; an "Account of the Stars" in verse; and, most of all to be regretted, his "Anti-Cato."

It is curiously interesting to note the opinions expressed by different Latin authors upon his assassination. Cicero shamelessly hailed his murderers as tyrannicides and deliverers, for having done what he most earnestly wished, but had not the courage to do. Virgil makes no reference to it. Lucan regards it as a stately sacrifice to the gods, but states the general detestation of the act; Augustus permitted Messala to praise Cassius; Tiberius would not permit his being approved; Velleius, Seneca, and Valerius Maximus condemn the murder with abhorrence; the Greeks regarded it as atrocious; Tacitus is non-committal; Suetonius thinks that Cæsar merited his fate; Plutarch regards Cæsar as one sent by Providence to establish a monarchy; and many others, among whom is Livy, agree with him. Taken for all in all, there was much less justification of the assassins than might have been anticipated in their age.

In his power to concentrate his attention and carry on more than one train of thought at the same moment, Cæsar was a marvellous man; and his ability to change from one occupation to another instantaneously was equally remarkable. He could read, write, dictate, and listen simultaneously; he was accustomed to occupy four amanuenses at the same moment; and Pliny says that on occasions he employed seven together, and kept them busy. Even his enemy,

Cicero, admits that he was a genius, and possessed of superior understanding, taste, precision, reflection, industry, and memory. In short, one must agree with Drumann, when he sums up his estimate of Cæsar thus: "He was great in everything he undertook: as a captain, a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, a poet, an historian, a grammarian, a mathematician, and an architect."

The collections of letters from the correspondence of persons of note, which were made in Rome, such as those of Cæsar, Cicero, Calvus, etc., can scarcely be spoken of as literature; they were not intended for that, but they are of undying interest, and of great worth to the later writers of history, to whom they have served as mirrors, reflecting faithfully the social, and even the political, story of their period.

There was no journalism in Rome in our sense of the word; but notices of many kinds were put up in public places, the annotating of which was a method of imparting and circulating ideas. There were secretaries whose duty it was to keep a record of current events for the use of those who were absent from Rome; and Cæsar, in his first consulship, took measures to have the acts of the Senate published. From these various sources the *acta diurna* arose, and was essentially a newspaper, which, like the collections of letters, was not literature, but of great value historically.

There was also a multitude of pamphlets written to support differing views of political questions, as well as published speeches, some of which might very well be included in the list of classical literature. But as a democratic spirit became more prevalent, the speeches which had formerly been addressed to educated Romans only were delivered to the people in a more general sense, and were necessarily far less elegant and scholarly in style. In truth, the oratory, which had been of so fine a character at Rome, sensibly and rapidly declined.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106–43 B. C., made a new departure in the matter of publishing his pleadings. Although he was a leader at the bar, he was quite as much an author as a pleader; and it may have been an exaggerated literary instinct which led him to make this innovation. Before his time such pleadings as had a political significance had been published; but Cicero published his, whatever might be their nature. This was quite in accord with his character, and, following his cue, this species of writing came rapidly into fashion.

Cicero was a most important factor in his time, and a man concerning whom there is a vast difference of opinion. He holds high rank in Roman literature; indeed, he may with reason be called the first in the writing of modern Latin prose, as far as style is concerned.

Still, as I have read from the works of Cicero in my preparation for this present writing, I have been sadly disappointed in them; and not relying upon my personal judgment sufficiently to appear as a critic of such a man, I quote from Mommsen, not nearly all that he says, but enough to show his estimate of Cicero as a statesman, author, and orator:

"As a statesman without insight, idea, or purpose, he figured successively as democrat, as aristocrat, and as a tool of the monarchs, and was never more than a short-sighted egotist. . . . He was valiant in opposition to sham attacks, and he knocked down many pasteboard walls with a loud din; no serious matter was ever, either in good or evil, decided by him, and the execution of the Catilinarians in particular was far more due to his acquiescence than to his instigation. . . . In the character of an author, on the other hand, he stands quite as low as in that of a statesman. He essayed the most varied tasks, sang the great deeds of Marius and his own petty achievements in endless hexameters, beat Demosthenes off the field with his speeches, and Plato with his philosophic dialogues; and time alone was wanting for him to vanquish also Thucydides. . . . His correspondence mirrors most faithfully his character. People are in the habit of calling it interesting and clever; and it is so, as long as it reflects the urban

or villa life of the world of quality; but where the writer is thrown on his own resources, as in exile, in Cilicia, and after the battle of Pharsalus, it is stale and empty as was ever the soul of a feuilletonist banished from his familiar circles. . . . In the great orator more especially, conviction or passion flows forth with a clearer and more impetuous stream from the depths of the breast than in the scantily gifted many who merely count and are nothing. Cicero had no conviction and no passion; he was nothing but an advocate, and not a good one. He understood how to set forth his narrative of the case with piquancy of anecdote, to excite, if not the feeling, at any rate the sentimentality, of his hearers, and to enliven the dry business of legal pleading by cleverness or witticisms mostly of a personal sort. . . . But while the very advantages just indicated will appear to the serious judge as advantages of very dubious value, the absolute want of political discernment in the orations on constitutional questions and of juristic deduction in the forensic addresses, the egotism forgetful of its duty and constantly losing sight of the cause, while thinking of the advocate, the dreadful barrenness of thought in the Ciceronian orations, must revolt every reader of feeling and judgment."

Cicero was born in 107 B. C., on the beautiful estate of his family near Arpinum. His father, a Roman knight of intelligence and culture, gave his son the best education possible, and provided him with the most accomplished teachers, both Greek and Roman; and when the young orator appeared in the forum, no man there had a fuller preparation than he for success in public speaking. Having no relatives among the nobles, Cicero suffered from the contempt which the patricians felt for a commoner; but he did not hesitate to remind them that their advantages were but those of chance, when he ridiculed those "who take the trouble to be born, and whose fortune comes while they sleep."

Although in private Cicero spoke satirically of rhetoric, as when he wrote to Atticus, "I have poured into my book all the perfumes of Isocrates, all the essence-boxes of his disciples, and even the cosmetics of Aristotle," he yet was largely subservient to it, and has been accused of preferring to

speak well before thinking well. He was almost absolutely certain to free his clients, no matter of what they were accused nor how justly. His musical, well-modulated voice was like a charm; while his command of all the cleverness of the schools, of philosophy, morality, sarcasm, and tenderness, enabled him to blind his hearers to everything except his eloquence. He did not think it worth while to refuse to plead for men of extremely doubtful character, and himself justifies untruthfulness in advocates, saying, "In pleading we speak as the cause requires, not as reason dictates." He spared no invectives in his speeches against Vatinius, and in two years' time endeavoured to defend him with equal power and eloquence.

ISOCRATES.

Having made his way as an advocate, Cicero began to strive for political position, and by successful trimming between the rival parties he became consul. It was now necessary to range himself with the patricians or with the reformers. He knew, however, that with the latter party, to which Cæsar belonged, he could not be first, while with the conservatives he could easily become a leader; his decision was made, and he joined the aristocrats.

His consulship was distinguished by no unusual ability, and but for an accident would have been remembered as

void of any special interest. The conspiracy of Catiline gave him his opportunity; and whatever else was accomplished, it served to impress Cicero with the idea that he was the saviour of his country, the man of all men in the Roman world, and one never to be forgotten, as, indeed, he has not been. The conspiracy having been proved to the Senate by Cicero, he, "with a pardonable laudation of himself and of the divine Providence of which he professed to regard himself as minister," says Froude, "congratulated his country on its escape from so genuine a danger."

The next question was concerning the punishment of the conspirators. Cæsar opposed their execution, and, after making his speech in protest, went away. Cicero satirically reviewed what Cæsar had said, and by his influence procured a vote for the death of the criminals. The conspirators were immediately strangled, which fact Cicero announced in one word to the waiting people, who received the news in silence, *Vixerunt*, — They have lived.

The people by no means sympathised with the conspiracy, neither did they approve of the execution of criminals without a trial. It was true that the conspiracy was absolutely proven in this case, from the letters which Cicero had brought to the Senate and by the acknowledgment of guilt by the conspirators. But even so, the method of their execution was an act of violence for which Cicero was held as chiefly responsible.

When his consulship expired he was not permitted to review his acts before the Senate, as it was customary for consuls to do; the reason for this unusual interdict being that a man who had executed Romans without a hearing did not merit being heard by Romans. In the scene of confusion which followed, Cicero shrieked again and again that he was the saviour of his country.

From this time Cicero fell rapidly in the estimation of the people, and foolishly attempted to recover himself by con-

stantly repeating the story of what he had done for the good of Rome, and singing the praises of his administration. It was evident to all save himself that he would be publicly disgraced. Cæsar endeavoured to save him from this by offering him a place on a commission for the division of the Campanian lands, and also urged him to go to Gaul as one of his lieutenants. When Cicero stubbornly refused these offers, Cæsar could do nothing more.

Cicero now appeared in mourning garments, — the recognised method of appealing to the people for favour; this had no effect upon any save those who were already his friends, as it was a custom hitherto followed only by those who had been publicly accused. Twenty thousand citizens assumed the same garb; while the enemies of Cicero made a jest of this mourning, and, according to Plutarch, assailed both Cicero and his friends with mud and stones.

His appeal was in vain; but two courses were open to him, — to remain in Rome and take no notice of the menaces against him, or go into voluntary exile. He chose the latter course, but in his manner of withdrawal fully displayed the want of dignity which was an essential feature of his character. He pitied himself too publicly and indulged in most unmanly complaints and lamentations. His last act was placing in the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter an image of Minerva, which was one of his most treasured possessions; this symbolised his opinion that wisdom needed the protection of power in Rome. He fled to Sicily; his property was confiscated; his houses were levelled; the spot on which his city house had stood was dedicated to the Goddess of Liberty; he was forbidden to remain within four hundred miles of Rome, and was threatened with death if he returned; he went to Macedonia, and employed his time in the weakest and most abundant lamentations.

When Cæsar's achievements in Gaul began to be praised, no voice was louder and more liberal in commendation than

Cicero's, the reason for which he naïvely gives his brother Quintus, alleging that his ardour must resemble that "of the traveller who, having risen too late, must redouble his speed in order to arrive before the rest."

Pompey and Cæsar at length used their influence to have Cicero recalled; and sixteen months after he left Rome, he joyfully returned, and meeting a hospitable welcome, he boasted that Italy brought him on her shoulders to Rome. Soon after his arrival — when Clodius, who had been instrumental in his banishment, and had destroyed his houses, was absent from Rome — Cicero went, with a great number of followers, to the Capitol, and destroyed the records of the acts of Clodius when tribune.

He now adopted a new policy; and writing to his friend Atticus that he clearly perceived that he had been a fool, he became the friend of both Pompey and Cæsar. The Senate ordered the rebuilding of Cicero's houses at the public expense; but Clodius drove away the workmen and nearly murdered Cicero. The condition of Rome was most disorderly; street fights were of constant occurrence, as well as tumults of every sort.

Cicero was active as a pleader of political causes, and in this occupation seemed to recover something of his sanguine temper, although his private letters continued to be written in a despairing vein. He was appointed to fill a vacancy in the College of Augurs, and not long after, in 51 B. C., was sent as governor to Cilicia, which was not in the least agreeable to him. Nevertheless, he administered both the civil and military affairs of his post with credit, and so pleased was he with the successes over the various enemies, — bandits, pirates, and Parthians — who were repulsed by his brother and other officers, that he fixed his heart on a triumph when he should return to Rome. He also conducted the affairs of Cilicia with such honesty that large sums of money flowed into the national coffers.

When Cicero returned to Italy in 50 B. C., he wore a military dress and was attended by lictors with laurelled fasces. He could not enter Rome if he was to be permitted to celebrate a triumph, and awaited the decision without the gates. This request was refused by the Senate; but Cæsar, in a letter from Gaul, held out to him some encouragement that he should yet attain his wishes. Shortly after this Cicero was intrusted with the care of the Campanian coast, which, though not an extremely honourable position, suited his views, as he desired to remain near Rome.

The tortuous course which Cicero followed; his doubts as to which party and which leader it would be most to his advantage to follow; his scurrilous attacks in his private letters on any one who displeased him; his flattery of Cleopatra while he was denouncing her to his confidential friend Atticus; his flattery of Cæsar, and again of Ligarius, the opponent of Cæsar; his adulatory letter to Cæsar in 45 B. C., for the hypocrisy of which he excused himself to himself, and to Atticus; the want of harmony between his conduct and his writing, as in his treatise on Duties; his association with the assassins of Cæsar after the crime; and his lament — which Merivale says we must believe — that he had not been initiated into the plot; his desire that Brutus and Cassius should assume the government; his private approval of the assassination; his self-degradation and contemptible approbation of Dolabella, who had divorced his daughter Tullia; his welcome to Octavius; his wanderings in Italy and Greece and return to Rome in spite of his fears; his hypocrisies and pretences in keeping away from the Senate; his fourteen philippics; the wonderful vitality shown in these productions; his insults to Octavius; and his flight when the young Cæsar came to power, — all these make a story far too long and tortuous to be given here.

The only result that could be anticipated when Octavius at length accomplished his purpose, and had the power to free

himself from such enemies as he well knew Cicero and others to be, was a proscription, in which both Ciceros were included; and much as there is to despise in Cicero and the course he had pursued, the story of his death is one of the most pathetic that can be told.

Fleeing, when he knew of his sentence, the old man reached the coast, embarked, and proceeded as far as the Circæan Cape, and then turned back, as if, after all, he were bent on meeting death. He had not long to wait, for although he listened to his attendants and re-embarked, when passing Formiæ, one of the best beloved of his many homes, he obstinately insisted on landing; and reaching again this charming villa, he sunk into his last sleep in this life, too weary and worn to watch or care what was in store for him. From this repose he was aroused by his slaves, told that the soldiers were in sight, hurried into a litter and borne away again towards the sea.

He was quickly overtaken by his executioners, and in this last moment showed a courage that one would not have looked for. Addressing the leader of the soldiers, whom he knew, he said, "Come then, old soldier, if you know your duty, and strike quickly." He stretched out his neck, those near him covered their eyes, and his head was severed from his body.

It was taken to Rome and set up above the Rostra, where Fulvia drew out the tongue and pierced it with her bodkin, while she poured out her curses on him. With his head his hands were also carried to Rome, by command of Antony. The philippics had been spoken by the mouth, but the hand had written them, and thus inscribed them on all succeeding time. If Fulvia had a ray of affection for Antony, it is small wonder that she hated Cicero.

Plutarch tells us that Philologus, a freedman, who had been the slave of Quintus Cicero, and carefully educated by Tullius Cicero, told the soldiers who sought the old man's

life that his litter was in the closely shaded avenues of the villa; he thus delivered him to death, as otherwise his attendants would have reached the shore and taken him away.

When Antony learned that Cicero was indeed dead, he exclaimed, "Now let there be an end of our proscriptions."

FULVIA, WITH THE WING AND SHIELD, THE ATTRIBUTES OF VICTORY.

He delivered Philologus to the widow of Quintus Cicero, who prolonged his tortures beyond belief. It is said that she even compelled him to slice off his own flesh, and roast and eat it.

It is also related that long after, when Augustus saw his grandson with a book of Cicero's, he took it, and after turning the pages and reading it awhile, returned it to the boy, saying, "My child, this was a learned man, and a lover of his country," which leads one greatly to admire Augustus.

Livy says of Cicero, "He bore none of his calamities

as a man should, except his death!" One does not need to listen to the opinion of any author concerning Cicero. His own letters convict him of hypocrisy, jealousy, malice, selfishness, and sordidness, besides the lesser faults of vanity and timidity. In summing up his character, Merivale says, —

"His strict and rare probity amidst the temptations of office arrests our attention and extorts our praise; yet assuredly Cicero had no nice sense of honour, and was controlled by no delicacy of sentiment, where public opinion was silent, or a transaction strictly private. His courting his ward Publilia for her dower, his caressing Dolabella for the sake of getting his debt paid, his soliciting the historian Luccius to colour and exaggerate the merits of his consulship, display a grievous want of magnanimity and of a predominant sense of right. . . . While we suspect Cicero of injustice towards the great men of his day, we are bound also to specify the gross dishonesty with which he magnifies his own merits where they are trivial, and embellishes them where they are really important." . . .

If one takes Cicero's words regarding Julius Cæsar, to what conclusion can he come? In one of his letters to his brother Quintus he writes, "You say that Cæsar shows every day more marks of his affection for you. It gives me infinite pleasure. I can have no second thoughts in Cæsar's affairs. I act on conviction, and am doing but my duty; but I am inflamed with love for him." Again, "Cæsar, I reflected, was in the first place but mortal; and then there were many ways in which he might be got rid of." This was written to Atticus, and of it Mr. Froude says: —

"The rapture with which Cicero hailed Cæsar's eventual murder explains too clearly the direction in which his thoughts were already running. If the life of Cæsar alone stood between his country and the resurrection of the constitution, Cicero might well think, as others have done, that it was better that one man should die rather than the whole nation perish. We read the

words with sorrow, and yet with pity. That Cicero, after his past flatteries of Cæsar, after the praises he was yet to heap on him, should yet have looked on his assassination as a thing to be desired, throws a saddening light upon his inner nature. . . . Far had Cicero fallen from his dream of being the greatest man in Rome! Condemned to immortality by his genius, yet condemned also to survive in the portrait of himself which he has so unconsciously and so innocently drawn."

If one reads Cicero's "*Pro Marcello*," and the words of unlimited praise which he addressed to Cæsar in presence of the Senate, — for long as it is, it is simply a song of adulation, ending, "From my own heart I say, and I speak for others as well as myself, we will stand as sentries over your safety, and we will interpose our own bodies between you and any danger that may menace you," — what can he think when he compares this with another public expression in the Second Philippic? "Is there a man, save Antony and those who were glad to have Cæsar reign over us, that did not wish him to be killed, or that disapproved when he was killed?" And yet Cicero has admirers who speak of his honesty and sincerity! When was he honest and sincere? When he promised Cæsar to defend his life with his own body, or when, after the assassination, he exulted, "Happen what will, the Ides of March console me, and that which it lay with our heroes to do they have accomplished most gloriously, most magnificently"?

Caius Sallustius Crispus, better known to us as the historian Sallust, was born 86 B.C. in the territory of the Sabines. He was educated at Rome, and when twenty-seven years old became quæstor, and six years later, a tribune. He attached himself to Cæsar, and falling into disgrace on account of his immoralities, he followed Cæsar to Gaul; he also went with the great general to Africa, and was left by him as Prætor of Numidia, where Sallust acquired great wealth. About the time that he was in Numidia he married Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero.

After a short residence in Numidia he returned to Rome. He had a lovely villa at Tibur and built himself a magnificent house, surrounded by the gardens which were called by his name, and became famous for their parterres, well-shaded avenues, splendid porticoes, and exquisite flowers, as well as beautiful statues. Magnificent baths, a circus, and a temple to Venus were also within the grounds belonging to Sallust's house. So beautiful did he make his estate that Nero, Augustus, and several other emperors preferred it before the palace of the Cæsars. It was burned on the night in which Alaric entered Rome. The temple was excavated in the middle of the sixteenth century and the materials used for other edifices, while the circus has entirely disappeared in the filling up of the valley between the Quirinal and Pincian hills. Although the palace of Sallust was on the Quirinal, his grounds were so extensive as to include the Vigna Barberini and the Villa Ludovisi, extending to the present Roman wall and the Pincian and Salarian gates. Of all these magnificent pleasure-grounds nothing remains. Some exquisite statues which have been found in them may have been contributed by the emperors who lived here after the time of Sallust.

SALLUST.

Sallust passed the later years of his life in literary pursuits, surrounded by a circle of friends comprising Lucullus, Messala, Cornelius Nepos, etc.

The two works by which Sallust is known are the "Conspiracy of Catiline" and the "Jugurthine War." Authorities disagree as to the time when he wrote these books. His literary style cannot be especially praised; his pen had not

the flowing ease which characterises the works of Cæsar and of Cicero; this may have resulted from the fact that the historian was not an orator, and accustomed to use with fluency and ease such speech as commended itself to the scholarly and the unlettered alike. Sallust excelled in picturing character and personality, and some of his word-portraits are esteemed as masterpieces of that art.

These two principal works by Sallust have been preserved entire, and must be the basis of a judgment of him as a writer, his other remaining works being fragmentary or of less importance. His topographical description of Africa in the "Jugurthine War" was considered the highest authority by ancient writers, and has still great value in the study of that country at the period of which he wrote; at the very dawn of the light which was to illumine Rome with a splendour so unlike any that she had yet seen.

There is a difference of opinion among the men best fitted to decide on such subjects as to the most desirable position of the historian, — the question being whether he should be entirely removed from the circumstances and the men of whom he writes, or should have known the men and been actively engaged in the story he relates. There are strong arguments on both sides, but in regard to the Roman historians it is perfectly apparent that they were all partisans, and when not especially defending a faction and speaking of other nations, they are, first of all, Romans. Not one of them wrote impartially; and as Gaul, Carthage, etc., had no historians to correct and modify the dictum of the Romans, it is scarcely possible that their assertions should be accepted without question, but how splendid are the pictures they paint!

At the beginning of the Christian era Rome was at peace after frightful storms, and under this influence such encouragement was given to literature as led every man who had a right to wield a pen to attain his highest and best.

Genius was incited to its loftiest flights by imperial favour, and in the poets on whom this boon was conferred an enthusiasm closely allied to inspiration was aroused.

Suetonius says: —

"The models which the Romans derived from Grecian poetry were the finest productions of human genius; their incentives to emulation were the strongest that could actuate the heart. With ardour, therefore, and industry in composing, and with unwearied patience in polishing their compositions, they attained to that glorious distinction in literature which no succeeding age has ever rivalled."

The custom of recitation which tended to keep the persons and the productions of authors constantly in mind was greatly in vogue. It was not new at this time; but Asinius Pollio, then very influential in literary affairs, brought it prominently forward, and, in fact, made it a permanent institution.

An author who had a fine, or even a comfortable house, could give a supper and recite his compositions to his guests, being sure of an appreciative and sympathetic audience. The impecunious writer had more difficulty in assembling his hearers; the languid, luxurious Romans did not look with favour upon gathering in hired rooms to listen to poetry or prose. A large share of the best poetry was thus recited, however, and those who did not take the trouble to form an intelligent estimate of the literary merit of the author amused themselves with criticising his person, his voice, and his gestures. Not infrequently a man who recited well so wrought upon the sensibilities of his listeners that they too absolutely screamed and gesticulated, which made a certain triumph for the author, who was finally overwhelmed with vehement applause.

The reign of Augustus, after he was established on his throne, afforded no such opportunities to forensic orators as had been enjoyed by Cicero and his contemporaries; and

men of parts, regretting this, retired from the rostra, refusing to engage in less serious oratory.

But younger men flocked to the schools of eloquence and the declamation taught there became the most flourishing and admired of intellectual pursuits. The father of Seneca the philosopher, usually called the rhetorician, or Seneca Rhetor, was a fashionable and successful teacher of this eloquence; and when advanced in life, he wrote an account of his experiences and recorded the most remarkable and the wittiest sayings that he had heard from the declaimers. It was an interesting and amusing book, but it signally displayed the faults of this system, which the author himself perceived and lamented. In the trumped-up subjects for discussion, on which very clever things could be said, and still have no meaning, there was a certain pitiable quality, but this was exceeded by the absurdities of dress and manner demanded of the would-be orators.

The hair must be carefully arranged by a certain rule; directions were given for the use of the handkerchief; the steps which could be taken in either direction in which the declaimer should move were all carefully numbered; he was to rest a fixed time on one foot and the other, and to place one a certain distance before the other; his elbow must not be raised above a certain angle; he must wear rings, not too numerous nor too large, but he must display them by raising his hand to his head, being always careful not to disturb his coiffure; every emotion must be expressed with its appropriate gesture, and these pantomimes, or amateur theatricals, gained such a hold that their rules were transferred to the realm of serious public speaking in the tribunals; and a century later than Augustus, when Quintilian wrote his "Institution of an Orator," many of these physical accessories of oratory were still advised and approved. The natural result of such a system was insincerity; but the work of such authors as existed in this age, Livy, Virgil, and Horace, still

maintained a standard which did not permit the absolute demise of pure taste and diction, or of just reasoning and thinking.

Titus Livius, whose Latin prose is of the purest style, was probably a professor of rhetoric; at all events, he attended these schools, and although he maintained a wonderful command over his diction and a well-adjusted balance between judgment and fancy, he lost the candour and the accuracy which the historian must possess in order to make his work of value; and while Livy is named among the great historians of the world, a word of caution is always added as to the necessity of disbelieving him.

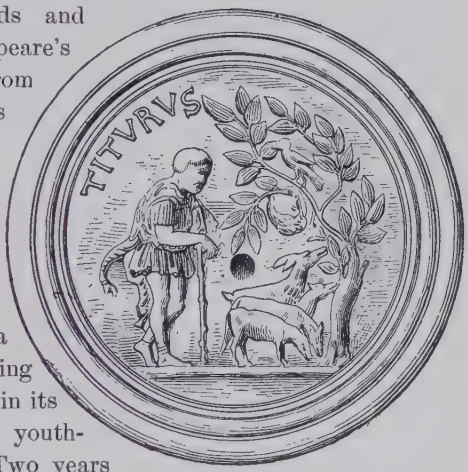
Livy was born in the north of Italy, at Padua, in 59 B. C. He did not begin his great work until middle life, but his "History of Rome" extends from the foundation of the city to the year 9 B. C., and consists of one hundred and forty-two books. Thirty-five of these only exist in completeness, while of the others we have the skeletons. His aim seems to have been to flatter the Romans and make a history that would please them, and yet avoid too gross a deviation from the truth.

His style is fascinating; copious, but not redundant; easy and graceful, while free from meretricious ornament.

The events and characters of which he treats stand out with such clearness and are so vividly coloured that they are for ever fixed in his lines, and must be retained as he has depicted them in the memories of his readers.

He places before the Romans a picture of their ancestors which was well calculated to arouse and satisfy their national pride. They could scarcely believe that the foundation of his charming writing was the same dry, unattractive, old chronicle-like story of the more ancient Rome, which they had so frequently gone to sleep over. No one can pretend to think his characters truthfully drawn; in fact, when clothed by his imagination, the early myths were indeed

"wonder stories;" and when he spoke of men nearer his own time, they towered as far above themselves as the Emperor is above the veriest beggar in his Empire. But Livy only did in his day what has been frequently repeated since. Merivale finds none of his tales of Romulus and Tarquin more exaggerated than are the tragedies of "Lear" and "Cymbeline," and believes that the Richards and Henrys of Shakespeare's dramas differ from their originals as essentially as do the Hannibals and Scipios of Livy's pages.



TITYRUS, THE SHEPHERD.

In 41 B. C., the confiscation of lands in Mantua and the surrounding districts involved in its consequences the youthful poet Virgil. Two years before, when Asinius Pollio commanded in his district, he had suffered in the same way, but Pollio admired Virgil and protected him. Now, however, the poet went to Rome and sought the aid of Mæcenas, who not only became interested in his welfare, but influenced Augustus himself to restore his patrimony. Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius were all involved in the same confiscation.

The "Tityrus" was written in 40 B. C., doubtless as a consequence of this experience, and it is not improbable that the imperial favour had an influence on the production of his two immortal poems.

The father of the poet was of low birth, but so ingratiated

himself with his employer as to win the hand of his daughter in marriage. His father-in-law then made him the superintendent of one of his farms near Mantua, where the illustrious son was born in 70 B. C. His studies were made in Cremona, Milan, and Naples, and in writing his poems he followed the Sicilian Theocritus as his ideal.

The Bucolics, his first work of importance, brought him into notice. In them Virgil has pictured pastoral life and manners without its rusticity. As soon as these poems were published, they were used for recitation on the stage; and there is a story that Cicero, hearing a portion of one eclogue, desired the whole to be given, at the end exclaiming, "Another hope of great Rome!" The object which Virgil placed before his own mind was to enrich the Latin tongue with a poetry not belonging to it; he also freely admitted his desire to imitate Theocritus, and did not hesitate to do this so completely as to even borrow his descriptions as well as his style and sentiments.

We do not look to poets for absolute truth, but for the fairest flights of fancy; and in his imaginative tale of the origin of his nation Virgil endeavours to inflame the love of the Romans for their country. He felt that he had a great mission in the interest of good government; and his devotion to his idea of influencing his people to return to the religion and morals of the past made him appear to one class of minds as a madman and to others as an inspired apostle.

The Georgics is frequently referred to as "the most perfect piece of Roman literature in point of mere style." In sentiment it is the glorification of labour. There had been too much war, and Virgil could not dwell on the profession of arms with the end he had in mind. He turns to husbandry and illumines it with all the resources of his fervid, brilliant imagination, and pictures the rewards the gods bestow upon the industry and piety of the man who lives near to nature in immortal verse; in such verse that

VIRGIL.

while one reads he is made to feel that nature, the life of the country, the companionship of the prudent bees, and other innocent creatures, as far excel the teachings of philosophy and the unrest of the town as heaven is high above the earth. "Then before all things venerate the Gods," is the great lesson, and, keeping near to Nature, keep near to them.

The Georgics were written at Nola, where he removed when thirty-three years old, and there passed the remainder of his life within ten miles of Naples, then a favourite home of literary men. He devoted seven years to the Georgics, dictating each morning a number of lines and spending the rest of the day in revising them. We are told that Virgil greatly desired to write an epic, but distrusted his ability. However, in the year that he completed the Georgics he began the Æneid, to which he devoted his remaining years. The fame of what he was doing was great. It was said that Homer's Iliad would be eclipsed, and Augustus several times asked to see what he had written. To him Virgil replied, "I have, of late, received from you frequent letters. With regard to my Æneas, if, by Hercules, it were worth your listening to, I should willingly send it. But so vast is the undertaking that I almost appear to myself to have commenced such a work from some defect of judgment or understanding; especially since, as you know, other and far higher studies are required for such a performance."

At length, however, the poet was over-persuaded by the Emperor, and recited to him the sixth book. His sister Octavia — the mother of the young Marcellus, the adopted son of Augustus, and the darling of Rome, who had recently died — was also present to listen to the poem. Virgil had inserted the exquisite lines referring to the premature death of the youth on whom so many hopes had hung. The name of Marcellus, however, does not occur until late in the passage. We are told that Octavia fainted when this line was pronounced: —

"*Tu Marcellus eris — manibus date lilia plenis.*"

Conington thus translates the sentence in which the line occurs: —

"Child of a nation's sorrow! were there hope of thy breaking the tyranny of fate, thou shalt be Marcellus. Bring me handfuls of lilies that I may strew the grave with their dazzling hues," etc.

Even now few can read this whole passage unmoved.

All Roman poets were well experienced in reciting their verses; and we are told that Virgil's voice was especially suited to the expression of tender sentiment, while he gave to all he read a perfect articulation. The librarian of Virgil, the freedman, related that the poet frequently recited his verses aloud, and several times in so doing, as he heard the sound of an incomplete or unsatisfactory line, he instantly supplied what was needed and in such a manner as required no further change.

When the Æneid was complete, Virgil proceeded to Athens, where he wrote the fine introduction to the third book of the Georgics, and gave much thought to the correction and finish of his poem. He returned to Italy greatly enfeebled in health, and died at Brindisi soon after landing, at the age of fifty.

When he felt himself near his end he commanded his friends to burn the Æneid, — a sacrifice that Augustus would not permit, and he strictly charged those to whom he committed it for correction that they should make no additions, not even to complete the few unfinished lines; for this wisdom on the part of the Emperor the world must be ever grateful.

The view that Æneas was intended by Virgil to represent Augustus, while it may be supported by the similarity of many experiences in the lives of the poet's hero and the Emperor, must be taken with great reserve, and to us moderns it is of no importance. The Æneid reveals to us the Roman at his highest and best, and as a history of classic Rome in its ideas, rather than in its events, is of immense value. "This is the consideration which," says Merivale, "with many of us must raise the interest of the Æneid above that of any poem of antiquity, and justify the saying of I know not what Virgilian enthusiast, that if Homer really *made Virgil*, undoubtedly it was his greatest work."

MINICAN COLLEGE

Personally this poet is represented as bashful, reserved and serious in manner, awkward in dress and the cut of his hair. In the fashionable society of Rome, especially that which surrounded Augustus and Mæcenas, it is more than

A TEMPEST. FROM THE VATICAN VIRGIL.

intimated that his presence was a restraint, even his admirers breathing more freely after he left their circle. So serious, in truth, are his writings, that his lines in which the hostess of a little inn beyond the gates of Rome invites her customers, are curious when compared with the majestic measure in which we know Virgil so well. The refreshments she offered so many centuries ago are the same that one would still find at many an Italian hostel.

"Here are cups, cans, and goblets — the lyre, flute, and rose;
And a texture of vines shade and coolness bestows:
From a cave sweetly echoes the pipe; and a flask
Has been filled up with wine from a newly broached cask.
Here Cupid, fair Ceres, and Bacchus combine;
Here are mulberries red, and the fruit of the vine;
Here, too, from its stalk hangs the cucumber green;
And here, though the god of the cottage be seen,
His hands but a hook of the willow-tree bear,
He has no other weapon to frighten the fair.

. . . . . .

"Come, if weary, and rest in the vine's leafy shade,
And with chaplets of roses encircle your head.
While it blooms, snatch a kiss from the cheek of the fair,
And away with all those who look grim and austere!
Why reserve you the garland, all sweet with perfume,
To deck the cold marble that closes the tomb?
Set the dice and the wine: — May he perish who cares
For the good or the ill which to-morrow prepares;
Death pulls by the ear, and cries, 'Live while you may!'
I approach, and perhaps shall be with you to-day."

Virgil's tomb is in a garden above the grotto of Posilipo. Doubts as to the genuineness of this claim seem to be unfounded. The poet died in 19 B. C.; and a century later, Statius, the Neapolitan, wrote: —

"At Virgil's honoured tomb I sit and sing."

Silius Italicus purchased the tomb and religiously visited it on Virgil's birthday. The Bishop of Ariano wrote, about 1500, that he had records which proved it to be the tomb of Virgil, and declared that it was perfect as late as 1326. The epitaph which Virgil wrote for his tomb a few days before his death was inscribed on the vase which contained his ashes.

"*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc*
Parthenope. Cecini pascua, rura, duces."

In Mantua — first — I saw the light of day;
Calabria snatched the cup of life away:
Parthenope contains my grave.
I sang of flocks and fields and heroes brave.

I quote from my "Naples, the City of Parthenope," a paragraph written on the spot: —

"Not only has the urn disappeared, but the laurel which Petrarch planted has been stolen, bit by bit, and carried to other countries, Voltaire, the Margravine of Baireuth, and other notable persons sharing in this sacrilege. But were Virgil not buried here, we know that all this hill of Posilipo was familiar ground, and dear to him; here, in the villa of Lucullus, he spent many happy days, and his feet have doubtless trod where we now walk with thoughts of him in mind, more than nineteen centuries after his immortal work was done. As one sits on the terrace near by, and enjoys the stupendous panorama spread before him, the verse which commemorates Saint Paul's visit to this spot, and was long in use in the Cathedral of Mantua on that saint's day, is involuntarily remembered. It is thus translated by John Addington Symonds: —

"'When to Maro's tomb they brought him,
Tender grief and pity wrought him
To bedew the stone with tears;
What a saint I might have crowned thee,
Had I only living found thee
Poet first and without peers!'"

The poet Horace, whom Virgil presented to Mæcenas, was born at Venosa, in 65 B. C. His father was a freedman who had acquired property and removed to Rome when his son was about twelve years old. Here Horace was sent to the best schools, and both in his education and manner of living was more like the son of a patrician than of a man who had been a slave. In later years Horace paid a rich tribute to the care and wisdom with which his father watched over his education and his morals.

When eighteen years old, Horace was sent to Athens for further study; and being there when Brutus and Cassius arrived in Greece after the assassination of Julius Cæsar, the young student became an admirer of Brutus and followed him to Macedonia. He ran away from the battle of Philippi, and has been called a coward; it does not appear, however,

that he led the flight, but shared that of many others, who, seeing the day lost, acted on the principle of "He who fights and runs away," which has always appeared to me a most sensible precaution.

His story is not clearly known from this time until he appears as the intimate friend of Mæcenas; this patron, having taken little notice of him on their first acquaintance, became later his devoted friend, and Horace attended Mæcenas on his journeys. Unlike Virgil, Horace was a man of the world, easy in his temper and manners, delightful in conversation, and altogether well suited to the circle in which Mæcenas lived. Horace received from his patron a villa at Tibur and a grant of land in the Sabine territory. Augustus, to whom Mæcenas had presented Horace, invited him to be one of his secretaries; but the offer was declined on account of health, which the Emperor took in good part, and encouraged the poet to write not only his usual odes, but an epistle to himself.

His home on the Esquiline was not rich, but most comfortable; and at the season when he resided there, the spring, he had a blazing fire on his hearth continually. In his own house he ate the plainest food and served it to his visitors, but did not object to the richest fare elsewhere, and was quite content to have his guests bring with them a better wine than he furnished. With such friends as the Emperor, Mæcenas, Virgil, and other writers; with a competency which saved him from pecuniary anxieties; occupied in writing works which he was fully assured would live through the ages; with his idle life in Rome and his intense enjoyment of his occupations when in the country, — Horace seems to have been a man to be envied.

The most ideal portion of his life, however, was passed on his farm, where he had a well-selected library, in which he wrote many of his satires. Here he lived a most natural life; sometimes he joined in the labours of the field, slept

on the border of a stream, walked in the woods, where stood the picturesque ruins of a temple, overlooked his vines and olive-trees. When evening came, he surrounded himself with rustics; and while he drew out their opinions and reflections on many subjects, he imparted to them such knowledge as filled their needs.

He died suddenly in Rome when fifty-seven, within a very short time of the death of Mæcenas, and was buried near the tomb of his friend and patron. It is not always safe to judge the personal qualities of a poet by the spirit of his works, but in the case of Horace this may be done with unusual exactness. His intellect was superior to his moral character; he had great cheerfulness, moderation, and independence of thought. If in youth he was a coxcomb, he was more dignified as life went on; he was an affectionate and faithful friend and grateful for all benefits; but he was a sincere Epicurean, and while he noted all the phases of human life and wrote of them, he did not permit what he saw or heard to affect his temper or his happiness.

The *Carmen Sæculare* has been mentioned in my first chapter. In his Odes Horace is among the first of lyric poets; his imagery is always fine, sometimes exquisite; happy in expression, moral as well as gay, and courtly in their language, his odes have been constantly imitated, but no follower has imparted to his work what the Italians call the "*curiosa felicitas*" of Horace. The Satires cannot be thus commended; but in this style of writing finish and elegance are sacrificed to abruptness and sudden transitions for the very purpose of comparisons, and of placing the thing to be approved in sharp contrast to that which should be shunned. His epistles abound in moral teaching and judicial opinions of men and manners; written in his maturity, they embody increased judgment and philosophy, and are more skilful in form and style than his earlier works. Those which treat of the delights of country life are genuine and naturally

more pleasing than the purely ethical compositions; but as years go on he seems to weary of the sense of servitude, which he must have felt in spite of his philosophy. It is doubtful if he had written a single composition as he would have done had not the thought of Mæcenas and Augustus been in his mind. At the end he indulges in satirising himself when he avers that contentment depends principally on a good digestion! and he solaces himself by writing the "Art of Poetry," meditating on literature, and refreshing himself with abstract criticism.

We come now to a poet whose birth placed him in a position superior to that of Virgil and Horace, but whose fate was in sad contrast to theirs. Ovid was born at Sulmo, in 43 B. C. He was descended from an ancient equestrian family; and having completed his education in Athens, he later travelled in Asia and Sicily. He was destined to the bar; but although he was made a judge of criminal causes, and later promoted to the rank of a decemviri, he deserted the practice of law for that of writing poetry.

In early life he married two wives selected for him by his parents, and later a third, whom he appears to have loved. Suddenly, after a long residence in Rome, being apparently in favour with Augustus, he was banished. It was claimed that this was on account of his "Art of Love;" but as this had been published nearly a decade before, it was recognised as an untruthful excuse, and the real reason for his punishment is not known. It has been said that he was guilty of an intrigue with Julia, the granddaughter of the Emperor; she was exiled in the same year with Ovid, but the true secret concerning the poet has not been told.

It would seem that some fault of a very serious nature was committed by Ovid, as Augustus had been favourable to him from his boyhood. On the day when the Emperor was first saluted as Augustus, he conferred on Ovid, then about seventeen, the *Latus Clavus*, or tunic with a broad purple stripe,

such as was worn by the sons of senators. This gave Ovid the right to look for still greater favour at the hands of the Emperor; but when he threw off the thraldom of his legal profession he discarded his tunic also, thus resigning what appeared to be the office of a senator. On another occasion, when the entire body of Roman knights passed before the Emperor in review, he presented Ovid with a fine horse, which was a peculiar mark of approbation.

Ovid had a house on the Capitoline gardens near the Ponte Molle, and a farm and villa at Sulmo. While in Rome he was accepted in the best circles and had friends among the courtiers; he was on good terms with the poets of his time, and was the special friend of Q. Fabius Maximus, the intimate companion and confidant of Augustus. Messala had encouraged his genius and directed his studies, and, in truth, he was a great favourite in Rome and eminently the poet of society. In spite of the enviable position held by Ovid, and the success of his poems, he was apparently undisturbed by enmities and jealousy. His verses were recited in the theatre, sung in the streets and at private entertainments, and wherever they were heard they were applauded. This prosperity was enjoyed during thirty years, and was undoubtedly anticipated as enduring to the end of life. Into the midst of this popularity, when he was fifty-one years old, came the sentence of exile, like a thunderbolt from a calm and propitious sky.

His cruel punishment has given this poet a celebrity almost as great as that of his writings, and is one of the blackest spots on the character of Augustus, as it must clearly have been an act of private vengeance. The Emperor, apparently to give colour to the excuse for the exile, excluded all Ovid's writings from the public libraries.

No other Roman exile had been banished to such a distance nor to so savage and forlorn a spot. At times Ovid was obliged to don a helmet and seize a sword to aid in repulsing the Barbarians, who made frequent attacks on the

"Roman Siberia" to which he had been condemned. If danger lurked within the gates, death stalked beyond them; and in the severity of the climate he had not even the comfort of seeing a familiar plant or flower. To leave the court of Augustus, the gardens, porticoes, theatres, and baths of Rome for such a spot! Could a severer punishment be conceived? It recalls the argument of Julius Cæsar when he opposed the execution of the Catilinian conspirators because death was not a punishment when compared to a life of hopeless misery.

Many of Ovid's friends remained faithful to him, and wrote to him hopefully now and again concerning his pardon. His property was not confiscated; and although his wife was not permitted to go to him, she carefully watched over his interests in Rome. He consoled himself in constantly writing, and knew that all that he sent to Rome was read and praised throughout the Empire. But he had not one wakeful hour of resignation, and constantly besieged the Emperor with prayers for pardon or a removal to a more propitious climate, and gave his friends volumes of instructions as to how they should attempt to influence Augustus in his favour. The death of the Emperor naturally flattered his hopes of relief, but Tiberius was as inexorable as Augustus; and after ten years of frightful suffering of body and mind, he died. His request that his ashes should be carried to Rome was not complied with, and the savage Getæ erected a monument to him.

The greater part of Ovid's poems treat of love. The "Elegies" and "Art of Love" are the merry recital of deeds of gallantry rather than the sighs and longings of devoted affection. The "Loves of the Heroines" recites the stories of such famous lovers as Sappho, Œnone, Ariadne, and Medea; and their joy and grief told by themselves is depicted with great depth of feeling in a style nearly approaching that of the best heroic poets. The "Meta-

morphoses," or transformations of Greek and Roman Mythology, is extraordinary in its conception. It should not be judged as a continuous work, as then the repetition of the same or similar motives becomes tiresome and even senseless. It is a series of separate sketches, to be read or recited at intervals, — for which purpose it was principally intended. In this work Ovid can claim no originality of invention, as the same thing had been done repeatedly already; but his peculiar luxuriance of thought and style, his pleasing comparisons and fine descriptions, make this a notable rendering of these myths, which will continue to hold its place in the literature of the world, as it has thus far done. The "Fasti" was commenced at Rome, and finished in exile. It is a poetic, pontifical ritual, giving the calendar and the stated observances of the national religion. It recites the reasons for all ceremonies, is written with great clearness and vivacity, and, while perfectly easy in style, is also dignified. It strikes one as a curious phenomenon that after the pagan ceremonies had fallen into dire neglect, the sacrifices and solemn religious duties being largely left to the care and performance of slaves, a poet like Ovid should write the "Fasti," and thus second the determination of Augustus that the Romans should again become a religious people.

Whatever may have been the controlling power, the Romans became a second time ritualistic, if not religious. They again carefully observed the worship of the gods, and doubtless great numbers were perfectly sincere in this. They must have realised a need of something that paganism did not give, and for which they knew no name; but they accepted and practised the religion prescribed for them by the Father of his Country, and under all the circumstances were to be congratulated on having such a service-book as Ovid had written.

The "*Tristia*," or Sorrows, and the Epistle from the Euxine, are such as an exile might naturally write, and

no doubt appealed to his friends in Rome — certainly to his wife, to whom he wrote so touching and manly an address — and to others who became fellow-sufferers with him, since great numbers were condemned to like experiences.

Although the practice of oratory and use of eloquence was much lessened under the Empire, yet no restrictions were put upon study or authorship; and many men who, under the Republic, would have made reputations as public speakers, turned to literary pursuits. The Emperors made no attempt to control the courses of study; and the same Greek text-books that had taught past generations the glory of freedom, and, indeed, in some cases extolled the murder of tyrants, were left for the consideration of the youthful subjects of the new form of government.

The same freedom was permitted to authors as to students. Under Tiberius men doubtless feared what might happen, and may have refrained from writing what we should now value; under Caligula, too, it would have seemed necessary to be cautious, since he frowned on Homer and Virgil; Claudius desired to be considered a patron of letters; and under Nero, every department of literature flourished, although the Emperor personally preferred books in the lighter vein.

It would seem that if a censorship of books was ever warranted, it would have been so at Rome in the days of the Empire. By the employment of numbers of slaves an author could complete his book in his own house; this was done with great rapidity, and books thus made were sold at small prices. Under these circumstances it would not have been strange, in fact, it would have seemed but prudent, for a tyrant to know what the senators, minor officials, and freedmen of the Empire were reading.

The rapidity with which books were copied is surprising. Five hundred and forty verses were transcribed in an hour, and books "smoothed with pumice" and well bound were

sold for less than a dollar; while plainer copies were incredibly low, — some selling for as little as eight cents!

There is a view, however, which makes the absolute freedom to authors a wise policy on the part of the Emperors. While bookmaking engrossed the attention of the great number of persons employed, from the author to the bookseller, it was of a harmless character; the range of topics was low and trifling as a rule. The exceptions were fine but rare; and authors of books of value were not so much given to a wide dissemination of them, preferring to present them to select audiences by recitation, rather than to sow them broadcast by the aid of the copyist. Naturally, the current events of the day were rarely, and always carefully touched upon, which must have been a most unwelcome restraint to authors; but otherwise they had a field for all the works of genius or industry which they could produce.

Perhaps the freedom permitted in the study of differing philosophies and religions, and to the writers on these subjects, served a wise purpose, since by an unwritten law it was well understood that the discussion of politics would not be permitted. At all events, an immense amount of nervous and intellectual force was expended by Atheists, Sceptics, Stoics, Epicureans, etc., in stating and defending their widely differing views on religion and morals.

There were, however, some striking exceptions to this rule of indulgence, as in the cases of Seneca, Petronius, and Lucan. The first of these, the famous philosopher, was born in Cordova a few years before the beginning of the Christian era, and was brought to Rome when a young and delicate child. He became an ardent student, and excited jealousy even in the Emperor Caligula by his eloquence in pleading; and as Caligula also suspected Seneca of considerable wealth, he condemned the orator to death; but the representation made by a friend to the Emperor concerning

SENECA.

the delicacy of Seneca's health, and the probability that he could not long survive, influenced the Emperor to spare his life.

In 41 A. D. Seneca had incurred the anger of Claudius, and was banished to Corsica, where he remained eight years, and was then recalled through the influence of Agrippina, who had meantime become the Empress of Claudius. She made Seneca a prætor and the tutor of her son, Domitius, later the Emperor Nero. Seneca had not borne his exile with fortitude, and had taken occasion to write to Polybius, when he lost his brother, a "Consolation," at the end of which he indulged in a glorification of Claudius, calling him divine. Of course this was written in the hope that it would be approved by the Emperor. Claudius did not relent, but he permitted Agrippina to bring Seneca again to Rome.

It does not seem that Claudius, however little he relied on the sincerity of Seneca, could have suspected such depths of dissimulation as he proved himself to have practised, by writing, after Claudius died, that remarkable "Vision of Judgment" on the death and deification of the Emperor. The Senate decreed Claudius divine; but Seneca represented that his soul had entered a pumpkin, and gave a most absurd account of all that happened to this soul before it was finally conducted to the infernal regions and sentenced to play for ever with a bottomless dice-box.

Seneca now made it his rôle to flatter Nero unmercifully, and predicted his wonderful achievements as Emperor of Rome; as his tutor he indulged him in music and dancing to rather an unusual degree, perhaps with the hope of turning him to more serious studies by not showing too great severity. It is believed that the funeral oration over Claudius, pronounced by Nero, was written by Seneca; and it was soon apparent that the tutor had great influence with his pupil. When Agrippina usurped the imperial power in the most unwarrantable manner, Seneca joined with Burrhus, the prætorian prefect, to withdraw the Emperor from the influence of his mother; and by the most questionable means, such as leading Nero into all sorts of dissipation, they succeeded

in acquiring great control over his conduct and over his affections.

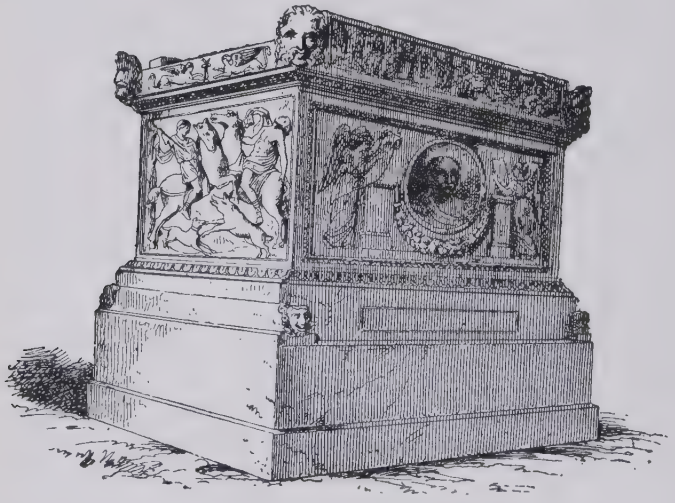
The frightful murder of his brother by the young Emperor, during the first year of his reign, has been sometimes attributed to the advice of Seneca; the truth of this cannot be known, but we may say that he showed no disapprobation of the deed, as he claimed long after that Nero's clemency in that year was a result of his own teaching. Seneca was in a painful position: he must counteract the diabolical plans of Agrippina; and as ever in Rome, the general good, with no regard for individuals, was the approved policy, so Seneca laboured for this end, and not unsuccessfully.

Seneca and Burrhus were both accused of countenancing Nero's murder of his mother; and it is not denied that the letter from Nero to the Senate, defending his course, as else his mother would have slain him, was written by Seneca. Burrhus died, probably poisoned by Nero. The philosophy of Seneca did not commend itself to the Romans; his pupil was getting far beyond his influence; he was known to be rich, and was believed to have gained his wealth dishonestly; and he thought it best to plead ill-health and request a dismissal from public life. But Nero distrusted his motives, and denied his requests, although Seneca offered to relinquish to him his riches.

There were those who, being inimical to Seneca, accused him of conspiracies; and Nero, tempted by the wealth of his old tutor, listened willingly to these accusations. But no proof could be brought to convict Seneca, who, becoming alarmed lest the outrageous life of the Emperor should be attributed to his counsels, again begged to be permitted to retire from the court; and failing in this, he feigned a more serious illness than he had before complained of, and kept his chamber. Nero was very generally believed to be attempting to poison Seneca, who, by his care in his diet, prevented death. At length, in 64 A. D., when the conspiracy

of Piso for assassinating Nero became known, Seneca was accused of being in the plot and was condemned to die.

He had his veins opened in the presence of his friends; and on account of his age and the sluggishness of his blood, he suffered a lingering and painful death, but was composed and dignified, and continued to converse with those about him so long as he retained consciousness.



TOMB OF SENECA ON THE APPIAN WAY. RESTORED BY CANINA.

It was said that he persuaded his young and attractive wife, Plautina, to die with him, and thus prove that he had taught her to despise death. It is related that she permitted him to open her veins, but as soon as he was unconscious she had them bound up.

Inconsistent as was the life of Seneca with his writings, the excellence of the latter cannot be ignored; and it would not be possible for a thoroughly base man to even think as he must have done in order to write what he did, — for we

must remember that he had not the Scriptures from which to borrow his ideas. On the contrary, it has been suggested that Saint Paul borrowed from Seneca.

Happily, even in the most disheartening days in Rome, there were those who lived virtuously; who cherished natural affections, and, being neither in luxury nor poverty, practised honesty, justice, and fidelity to trusts. Of this class Seneca was a great teacher; his writings were a law, even a Scripture, to them, and both his writings and their appreciation of them prove that a desire for something that paganism had not given them was crying out for satisfaction. Many of these Romans were eager to listen when the story of the Gospels was told them, and of this class great numbers became Christians. When we read from Seneca such sentences as the following, we cannot wonder that the people believed in him and loved his teaching: —

"God dwells not in temples of wood or stone, nor wants the ministrations of human hands: He is near to all his creatures; men must believe in God before they can approach Him; the true service of God is to be like unto Him; God is no respecter of nations, ranks, or conditions; but all, barbarian and Roman, bond and free, are alike under His all-seeing Providence."

Thus we, at this distance of time, are able to see clearly the enormous difference between the teaching of Seneca and his life, — between what he knew and what he did. Alas! that we do not need to go back to the age of Seneca for such examples, but may find them in each century in every land. It is an old story, the oft-repeated admonition to put ourselves in the place and in the surroundings of those of whom we judge; how can any one now put himself in the place of Seneca, even by the aid of the most vivid imagination? Better than to make the attempt is it to study his sins to avoid them, and read his philosophy to profit by it.

At the same time with Seneca, his nephew, the poet Lucan, was condemned to death. He was an acknowledged

conspirator with Piso against the life of Nero, with whom he had been intimately associated in previous years. Tacitus says that Nero was jealous of the literary talent of Lucan, and forbade him to recite in public. Among other circumstances that imply a knowledge of the plot on the part of Seneca, though not a participation in it, is the rôle that his nephew took; and Dion attributes to the philosopher the opinion that the murder of Nero "was necessary to free Rome from Nero, and to free Nero from himself."

Lucan opened his veins in a bath, and is said to have recited, while dying, some of his own verses, which described a death by bleeding at every pore. The "Pharsalia," an epic of the Civil Wars, is Lucan's one great work. It was not finished when he died, at twenty-six, and probably no part of it had been published. It is not one of the most attractive Roman poems: it sings of Liberty and Philosophy, but of the latter in most uncertain fashion; it has the great virtue of purity, and in the midst of much uncertainty it distinctly avows a faith in a future life, if only as a state of retribution. No other Roman writer pays such a tribute to conjugal affection as does Lucan; the tenderness of the passages in this connection may have been his own tribute to his wife, whose devotion to his memory was later sung by Statius.

The contrast between these most lovely lines and a great part of "Pharsalia" emphasises the feeling one has in reading it, — that in the heroic and warlike scenes he writes what he does not know by experience, and has not the imagination or the true poet's divination to perceive; but when he speaks of such affection as he had tasted there is nothing wanting in his verse.

In studying the history of Rome one constantly wishes that the writing of its story had been considered and executed from a different point of view from that of the historical works which have been preserved. "Roman history

ended," says Merivale, "in fact, nearly as it had begun, in the private memorials of the nobles, adapted to declamatory recitation by their flatterers and clients." It is true that outside of such writing as must have been sadly warped by personal feeling, by fear of truth-telling, and by the desire on the part of the author to commend himself to his patrons, there was no material from which to write the history of Rome.

Tacitus, although called an historian, is, more properly speaking, a biographer, which is essentially true of the other so-called historians of ancient Rome.

Tacitus was born in the time of Claudius, or of Nero; his youth was thus passed in a reign of terror; and the benefits which he received from Vespasian and Domitian prevented his giving his opinion of them with absolute freedom.

The chief fault in the writing of Tacitus is the very apparent effort that he makes to support his own theories. His regret at the downfall of the aristocracy is so keen that he attributes every ill that happened after the establishment of the Cæsarean rule to that which is to him the one source of evil, — the overthrow of the oligarchy. So deeply is he steeped in this idea that it would be impossible for him to write impersonally and truthfully of contemporaneous events.

The Cæsars had ruled Rome sixty years when Tacitus began his Histories, and they had been years of prosperity, but Tacitus did not apprehend this, and says nothing of the rise and advantages of the Cæsarean system of government. He writes of the darkest period, beginning with the defeat of Varus and ending with the reign of Domitian. He speaks neither of the earlier nor of the later contrasts to his picture, although he lived to see the rule of those whom he might have called regenerators of the Empire.

In contrast with Tacitus the writing of Livy is refreshing, because he appears to have had no theories to hamper him;

his creed seems to have had but a single article, the magnitude and invincibility of Rome, and no doubt of her splendid and triumphant destiny seems ever to have crossed his mind. Thus he goes happily forward with his work, and presents us with a long portrait gallery, in which the faces and forms stand forth for us exactly as they appeared to him.

Tacitus, on the other hand, introduces anecdotes and speculations for the support of his creed, which, while as brief as that of Livy, embodies a bitter regret for something that has been lost; the effect of this loss he is for ever lamenting, without a trace of such cheerful confidence as Livy cherished. And yet how precious are his Histories and Annals; especially the first, in which he wrote of so much that happened in his life, while for the second he depended on older and strangely insufficient sources. At times, though rarely, he breaks away from the thought of the Emperor and the narrow circle just about him, and writes with great vigour and charm of matters at a distance, — of Egypt, Palestine, the Jews, and their customs, — and so delights us in these digressions that we regret that they are not more frequent, and should gladly follow him in longer absences from the imperial circle.

The style of Tacitus and his wonderful command of language prove him to have been a scholarly man; and a certain quality in his writing indicates his familiar and constant association with men of learning. His authenticated works were written in the time of Trajan, and are among the books that still find readers. His brief, powerful style should be studied in preference to the unending unrolling of fine periods which characterised the Ciceronian epoch. The personal fame of Tacitus is that of a man of honour who adorned his age. The date of his death is unknown, but he is believed to have outlived Trajan.

Suetonius has given, in his biographies, a valuable collection of statements, not always to be accepted precisely as

made. He may have been an excellent secretary, but he was quite ignorant of the art of composition; and when reading his curious dreams and superstitions, apparently as serious facts to him as anything that he records, one comes to pity him and feels inclined to say "poor old Suetonius," as to a helpless innocent.

The first six of his biographies abound in anecdotes; the later series is less entertaining; and, in short, all the Roman biographies that we possess, taken together, are but an outline, sometimes faint at that, of the men, women, and times which they aim to place before us.

The naturalist, or elder Pliny, may be said, in point of time, to belong to two generations of Roman literati. Born soon after the death of Augustus, in his early life he was surrounded by the Augustan atmosphere, and at the time of his death he was in the midst of the Flavian prosperity.

Pliny the Elder is famous for his "Natural History," and for having perished in the dire fatality at Pompeii. His book is a vast collection of facts of all kinds, embracing what has been termed "true tradition," as well as the results of scholarly and scientific observation. It is crude and unmanageable, but it is the only work which gives the information that it contains in certain directions, and seems likely to survive and to occupy the place it has held for so many centuries.

There is a certain quality about the description of this Pliny, as given by his nephew, which commends it to all classes of readers, if we may judge it by the number of authors who have quoted it. I cannot do better than to repeat it once more. It has an interest apart from Pliny himself, since we learn that his method of life was very nearly that of many others in the Rome of his day.

"He was a man of quick parts, of incredible industry, and the least possible sleep. From the twenty-third of August he began to study at midnight, and through the winter he continued to rise at one, or at the latest at two in the morning, often at twelve. Before

daybreak he used to go to the Emperor; for he too worked at night. Thence he betook himself to his official duties. On returning home he again gave what time remained to his studies.

"After taking food, which in the morning was light and digestible, as in the olden time, he would often in summer recline in the sun, if he had leisure. A book was then read to him, on which he made notes, or extracted from it. He read nothing he did not extract from. For he would say there was no book so bad you could not get some good from it. After his sunning he generally took a cold bath, then a slight repast, and a very little sleep. Then, as if beginning a new day, he studied till supper-time. During supper a book was read, and notes made on it as it went on. I remember one of his friends once stopping the reader, who had pronounced a word ill, and making him repeat it. 'Did you not understand him?' said my uncle. He admitted that he had. 'Why then did you stop him? We have lost ten more lines by this interruption.' Such a miser was he of his time. He rose from supper in summer-time by daylight; in winter before seven in the evening, as regularly as if constrained by law. This was his mode of life in the midst of his official labours, and in the turmoil of the city. In the country he exempted only his bathing-time from study. I mean the actual use of the bath itself, for while he was being rubbed and dried he would listen to reading or himself dictate. In travelling he considered himself free from every other care, and gave himself entirely to study. He kept a scribe at his side with a book and tablets, whose hands in winter were armed with gloves, that even the cold weather might not rob him of a moment; and with this view he used even at Rome to be carried in a litter. I remember his rebuking me for taking a walk. 'You might have managed,' he said, 'not to lose those hours.' For he considered all time lost that was not given to study. It was by this intense application that he completed so great a number of books, and left me besides a hundred and sixty volumes of Extracts, written on both sides of the leaf, and in the minutest hand, so as to double the amount. . . . Would you not think, on remembering how much he read and wrote, that he had no part in affairs, nor enjoyed the friendship of a prince? And again, when you hear how much time he devoted to business, would you not suppose that he neither read nor wrote at all? . . . It makes me smile when people call me studious, for idle indeed am I compared with him."

The elder Pliny, at the time of his death, was commanding the imperial fleet at Misenum; he lived in his villa on the heights above the town, about twenty miles from Mount Vesuvius, as the crow flies. On the 24th of August, 79 A. D., he observed an unusual cloud hanging over the mountain; its colour changed rapidly from black to white, and the whole appearance was such that Pliny for once abandoned papers and work, and ordering his cutter to be manned, he started across the bay to investigate the strange phenomena. He asked his nephew to accompany him, but he was so much engaged that he declined to go.

Appeals now came to the commander of the fleet, urging him to send his ships to the assistance of those who were in fear for their lives, on the shore. He answered by despatching his largest vessels; and as they approached the fatal precinct, ashes and hot stones fell on the decks in showers. Pliny landed at Stabiæ, and by his calmness restored some order among the people. He followed his usual bathing customs, used all his efforts to lessen the alarm of the inhabitants, and went to bed at his accustomed hour. His servants could not sleep; and as the shower of ashes increased in volume, they aroused their master, being greatly alarmed. Severe shocks of earthquake were now felt; it was very dark, and the sea was greatly agitated, as they were groping their way, illumined only by flashes from the burning mountain. Pliny stretched himself on a piece of sail-cloth and refused to move, being half stifled by the vapours.

All his companions, save two body slaves, fled. No more is known until, when the storm was over, his body was found stretched on the piece of sail; he had received no injury, and probably died from suffocation. A peaceful expression was on his face, as if he were content to be taken from the scene of so much labour and such an unceasing struggle to save time.

Silius Italicus is known to us as an author by a single heroic poem, in seventeen books. It is entitled "*Punica*," and remains entire. This author was born about 25 A. D.; and after attaining success as an advocate, he became one of the centumviri, was consul in the year in which Nero died, and was later proconsul of Asia.

Silius was somewhat older than Lucan, but "Punica" was written at least twenty years later than "Pharsalia." It shows the change which the Flavian rule had brought about in a curiously direct manner. Lucan's poem was written with an utter disregard of the rules of composition and of models, — almost as if he had never read a work that could be deemed a standard, while Silius writes as if he had swallowed and well digested all such books.

Silius was well born and quite at home in the society of the Flavian court, and by obedience and patience he enjoyed civil honours even to old age, and as an author was flattered by the public and approved by other writers. Both Martial and Pliny complimented his poem, which, however, is rarely mentioned, if at all, by the ancients, and was made known to moderns by the accidental discovery of a single copy in the fifteenth century.

This poem is certainly symbolical of the tameness and sobriety of the Flavian era as contrasted with the tempestuous passions of the time of the later Cæsars. To Silius and, as we may reason by deduction, to all the calm patricians of his age, the famous men of the early Republic appeared as mythical as Hercules could have seemed, and he experiences no enthusiasm when reviewing their deeds. Apparently he had no vivid realisation that they had actually lived in Rome and been active in the Forum and Senate, like the men whom he had seen there in his day. When we review the two periods, — the time of Hannibal, for example, and that of Silius, — we are forced to admit that it would require a more active and imaginative spirit than is apparent

in the fifteen thousand listless verses of the "Punica," to give an appreciative representation of an Appius Claudius and his predecessors among the warriors of ancient Rome. When at a ripe old age, being afflicted with a fatal malady, Silius starved himself to death.

Another writer of this period, M. Fabius Quintilian, a Spaniard, was born in 40 A. D. He completed his education in Rome, and when twenty-eight years old was in practice at the bar. But he was less distinguished as an advocate than as a teacher of eloquence. In this department he is second to none. Domitian invested him with consular honours, and made him the favoured instructor of his nephews.

In his famous book, the "Institution of a Speaker," he shows that true oratory was his religion; but enthusiastic as he is in his specialty, he has so much good sense and excellent, as well as original, judgment, that he commands implicit respect. No such tolerant and temperate writing had belonged to the previous era; while at the same time Quintilian does not admit that there has ever existed a "perfect age of oratory" or an "absolute example of eloquence."

The characteristics of the writing of the Flavian Age are accuracy and finish; the authors are exemplary products of the schools, and while their works are admirable in form, they have too much the qualities of prize poems or essays to arouse any enthusiastic pleasure in their perusal. Of this class were Statius, Valerius, Flaccus, and Persius, and perhaps the flower of this artificiality was Martial.

This poet was a Spaniard, born in 43 A. D. When twenty-three years old, he went to Rome, where he remained thirty-five years. Of his epigrammatic poems we have fourteen books, distinguished by felicity of expression, wit, and fertility of imagination; but the finical exactness with which he turns his periods is the very essence of Flavian poetry. He had one virtue, directness, which is always a restful quality in a writer; but however much he may have been

admired in his own age, there is an abjectness in Martial's flattery of Domitian, and a certain vein of impurity in his epigrams, that fail to make him acceptable in later times.

But in his own day he must have been admired, since he writes, — speaking of tragic poems, — "Everything written in such a style is praised, admired, and adored by all, — I admit it. Things in that style are praised, but mine are read."

All his pieces are short, the longest not more than fifty lines. Martial boasted that while his verses were free, his life was pure. But can a man flatter a Domitian, and write vicious verses for others to read, and claim purity of life?

Juvenal flourished at about the end of the first century of the present era. He was the son or the pupil of a freedman, and was not successful as a lawyer, nor did he gain higher rank than that of a lieutenant as a soldier. His earliest biographers say that by his satire of "Paris," the pantomime, he offended the authorities, and as a punishment was sent, in command of troops, to Egypt or Britain, where he soon died at an advanced age.

The absolute knowledge of his life is, however, very scanty. He lived at Aquinum, and is believed to have been the friend to whom Martial addressed three epigrams.

His works consist of sixteen satires, which denounce vice with indignation. They are written in heroic hexameter, and so violent is the passion expressed in the earliest of them that it has the effect of being assumed, while an element of truculence which may be detected is still more objectionable. He did not write of his own time, but of "those whose ashes are covered by the Latin and Flaminian ways."

The above criticism applies to the first half of the satires, which express the bitterness of poverty and disappointment. In the eighth satire the better part of his nature begins to assert itself; and instead of spending his whole strength in cursing vice, he exalts virtue and endeavours to present the

objects for which men may worthily strive. Juvenal was a Roman in the fullest sense; and his protests against the introduction of foreign ideas and practices are all the more decisive because he feels the need of them, as he sees the element of pure Roman religion and Roman law gradually disappearing from Rome.

The writings of Plutarch, from his own day to ours, have been held in high esteem, both for the purposes of education and for the enjoyment of his older readers. Henry IV. of France kept the "Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans" always at hand, and Montaigne said of it, "It is our breviary." Plutarch was a philosopher and a biographer who rightly esteemed the duty of the latter literary profession, and made his biographies true portraits. His ethical writings are of less present value, but prove him to have been of sound views and benevolent temper.

Curiously, neither the exact date of his birth nor of his death can be discovered; but it is believed that he was born during the reign of Claudius, at the middle of the first century of the Christian era. Chæronea in Bœotia was his native city, and there he passed the later years of his life. He lived in several parts of Italy at different periods, and was a lecturer at Rome during the reign of Domitian.

Plutarch's idea of history seems to be the working out and dissecting of individual character; and he may be acknowledged a proper judge of virtue, since he himself practised it in a sense of which this can be said of few Roman authors. His lectures in Rome were upon the most lofty practical subjects, — the highest ends of life, and the relations between virtue and happiness. He was no sycophant nor time-server, and in all his works one can discover no flattery of men in high places, neither the expression of a personal vanity, of scorn, or of triumph; in short, he treats his subjects so impersonally that he does not disclose his own position in regard to matters of which he writes, — except

for the strong impression he makes of being always on the side of the truest and best. Other writers delighted in contrasting the two peoples of whom he wrote, as the spiritual Greeks and the brutal Romans. Plutarch permitted no such estimation to invade his biographies; and had they concerned but one of these nations, they would have been as honourable to it as candour could have permitted them to be. This truthfulness and apparent lack of prejudice makes Plutarch's Lives of great value; and Merivale pays this book the high compliment of saying that "there is no work perhaps of antiquity that Christian parents can put so securely into the hands of their children; the Christian statesman may draw lessons from it in wisdom, and the Christian moralist in virtue."

Perhaps the most exact estimate of Plutarch would make him a great teacher; for whether he lectured in Rome or wrote in his later years in Chæronea, he seems ever to be an instructor in practical ethics.

The letters of Pliny the Younger hold an important place in the literature of his age; and it is a pleasure to close our study of Roman letters with a slight account of this fairest Roman of whom we have so full a knowledge, a gentleman in position, in breeding, and in character. As one gazes at the façade of the Cathedral of Como, and beholds the statues of the two Plinys in the company of the saints who fill the other niches, there is no apparent impropriety. Wrapped in their togas, they hold themselves with placid dignity in their honourable positions, from which they can survey the exquisite surroundings of their native place. There is little doubt that they were both born at Como, — this uncle and nephew in fact, who by adoption became father and son, — and there can be no possible doubt that they had a deeper interest in the beautiful town on the Larian lake than any of the mitred and palm-bearing company in whose midst they sit.

The true name of Pliny the Younger was Caius Cæcilius. He was born in 62 A. D., his mother being a sister of the elder Pliny, and his father — also Caius Cæcilius, who died when his son was still a mere lad — was of a most reputable and ancient family, though not of the highest rank. The younger Pliny always showed a passionate love for Como, and each mention of it in his letters proves how constant was his memory of his exquisite birthplace.

He writes thus to Caninius: "Are you studying, or fishing, or hunting, or all three? They may all be managed at once beside our dear Como; for the lake gives you fish, and the surrounding forest game, and the deep quiet invites to study. . . . Ah me! I envy you! It exasperates me to think that I cannot have what I long for as sick men long for wine and baths and running water."

With all the praises of his uncle that exist in the writing of the nephew, we find no expression of fond affection; and one cannot look for it when the sternness of the elder man in his race with time, and the affectionate, even tender nature of the younger are compared. Probably the uncle was proud of his success in the training of his nephew when he refused to leave his books to accompany him to Vesuvius.

The nephew, however, frankly acknowledges that he may have made a pretence of interest in his studies, when on that frightful morning after his uncle's departure he called for a volume of Livy and proceeded to make notes from it.

Between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, Pliny was decemvir, military tribune, quæstor, tribune of the people, and prætor. A few years later he was consul, the commissioner of the Tiber, and augur, and in 103 A. D. he was made governor of Bithynia. During his residence in Asia Minor the treatment of the Christians was an important and anxious question with him. But as he had done in less serious matters, so in this, he applied to Trajan for explicit directions as to what his course should be, and

implicitly followed them. His correspondence with the Emperor Trajan while he held this post is, in a sense, the most important portion of the interesting letters of this unusual man. He even ventured to ask Trajan such questions as "Must these people be punished merely for the name they bear, whether or no they have committed acts of insubordination?" He very carefully recounts the manner in which he questioned those who were accused, giving them ample opportunity to deny Christianity or to recant, having once professed it, and adds, "They say, however, that those who are truly Christians cannot be coerced into doing any one of these things."

Although he spoke and wrote most charitably of the Christians, Pliny was a pagan from first to last, — sincerely and consistently a pagan, but a most benevolent one, as is proved by his charities, and emphatically, by his treatment of his slaves.

To Como he gave a public library, and was the means of establishing a school of rhetoric there, bearing a portion of the expenses himself. He also contributed for the education of the children of the better class who were poor, and gave dowries to the girls of such families. A sum of money which was to benefit his own freedmen so long as any survived was to be used for an annual festival for all the people of Como later.

But all this provision for others which involved no personal care was far exceeded, as a test of his graces of character, by his constant kindness to his slaves, and his interest in them individually, even sending a freedman who was ill to a more propitious climate, hoping to cure his cough.

There seems not to be the slightest foundation for a claim that has been made of his becoming a Christian, but it is small wonder that this should be said of a man who wrote as follows: —

"I consider him the most excellent and admirable of all men who overlooks the errors of others, on the ground that he himself sins every day, and yet strives as earnestly to abstain from sin as if he never overlooked a fault in any one. Let us all endeavour, at home, abroad, in every situation of life, to be implacable to ourselves, but merciful to others, even to those who never pardon any but themselves. Let us never forget the word of that gentlest, and for the selfsame reason that greatest, of men, Thrasea, — 'He who hates vice hates men.'"

When one considers the life of a man who was ruled by such principles, who was wealthy and able to relieve much suffering, and confer many benefits on individuals and communities, and who had much to enjoy that was in accord with his personal tastes, he may well be deemed a happy man; and this Pliny the Younger seems to have been.

Besides his large estates at Como, where he had the villas which he called Tragedy and Comedy, he had his delightful Laurentine villa, his farm in Tuscany, and houses at Præneste and Tibur, as well as a residence in Rome. His descriptions of his Laurentine and Tuscan estates are much in detail, and in that of the latter he emphasises his love of nature, and gives a delightful picture of the Italian scenery, which is ever the same. His description may now be verified by observation of the plains and meadows in the amphitheatre of the Apennines, with glorious forests and fertile gardens, all within the range of the ordinary sight. But however much others may enjoy and admire these landscapes, few could describe them as could Pliny, and in words present meadows star-flowered, mountains grandly towering beyond them, and silver streams rippling on their course to the rivers; so that if one closes his eyes and listens, he sees the fields and heights, hears the murmuring waters, and feels the delicious breezes fan his brow.

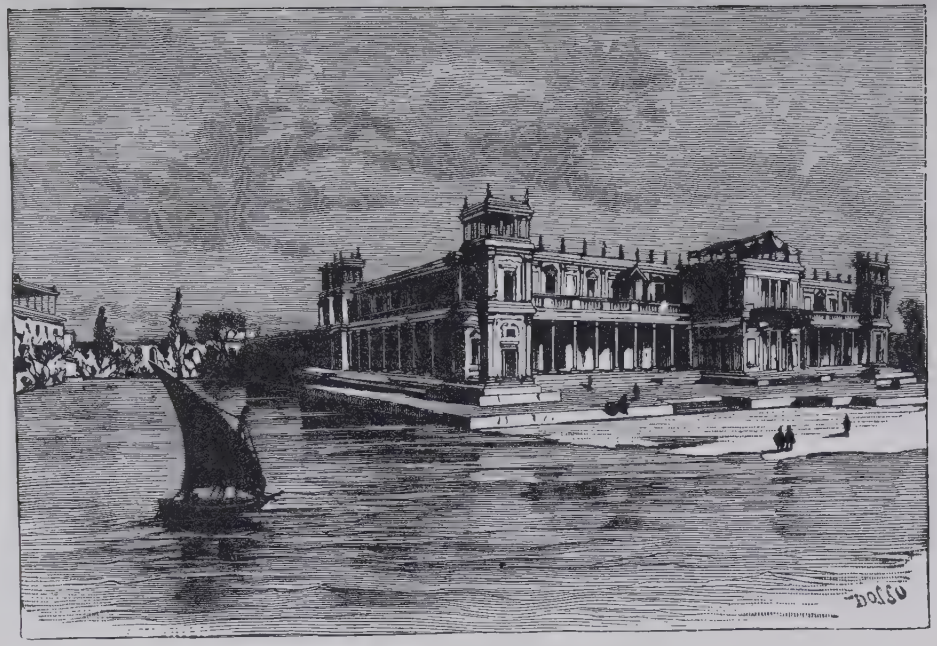
It is sometimes said in criticism of Pliny's letters that he published them himself, and knew that they were to be pub-

lished when he wrote them. Even so, taken with what is otherwise known of him, they present him as a cultivated man of generous nature and moral simplicity, possessing a large share of honour and humanity.

His numerous correspondents compose a group with widely differing characters, views, and aims. Our knowledge of Tacitus is largely acquired from his correspondence with Pliny; and of several poets of his age the letters of Pliny afford much information. I have already spoken of his letters to Trajan, which are of great value historically. With the Greek rhetoricians, who modestly refrained from making themselves prominent in Rome, Pliny was on intimate terms, and from his letters to them and their replies to him, it is easy to perceive that they were most accomplished scholars and gentlemen; they were eminently fitted to teach the arts of oratory and letters, and in addition to these bookish acquirements they well understood and exemplified the art of graceful living.

The brave and noble group of women who were intimate friends of Pliny, as well as his correspondents, had a great influence on his life; and the tone of the letters which passed between them affords the most satisfactory and charming example that remains to us of pure and friendly relations between the sexes in that age.

The Arrias and Faunias were grand, masterful women, who preserved the primitive virtues of their grandmothers. Pliny's lovely second wife, Calpurnia, and the daughter of Fundanus, of whose death he wrote so feelingly, were of quite another type; while Corellia and his mother-in-law, Pompeia Celerina, seem to occupy a place between the two extremes of strength and delicacy of those above mentioned. These ladies, as presented in Pliny's letters, afford us an illustration of what Roman matrons were accustomed to be before the degeneracy of later reigns, and present a delightful reminder of the best spirit of more ancient days.



PLINY'S VILLA. RESTORED BY CANINA.

Naturally, in Pliny's correspondence with so many and such varied friends and acquaintances, — ranging from the Emperor Trajan to his beloved wife, — there were many character-sketches and anecdotes, descriptions of countries and scenes through which he passed, as well as expressions of personal tastes and opinions.

By a careful examination of these it is a simple matter to detect such things as may have been written for effect or his own exaltation, and to decide from what remains as to the estimation in which he should be held, both as a Roman and as a Roman author.

ARRIVAL OF ÆNEAS IN LATIUM.

CHAPTER XV.

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE.

IT is not a grateful task, from one point of view, to write of Roman art, which is, in absolute reality, a non-existent quantity; since the one fact especially emphasised by the most trustworthy authorities is, that the Romans produced nothing original in art, and, in truth, that in Rome itself as well as in her provinces, there were almost no artists of any type born within her borders, — neither architects, sculptors, nor painters.

But ponder all this as one may, and believe it theoretically as he must, a lover of Rome still feels a certain impalpable something in the art which he sees in Rome that differs from the corresponding art which he sees elsewhere; and he will still think to himself, and will still say "Roman art," in spite of all the teaching he has received.

Perhaps one reason for this is that we know Rome so well from first to last that we cannot look at her simply as she is. We cannot forget her past if we would, it is so vital a part of her present, and she retains so much that constantly reminds us of her antiquity. We seem to regard her through a light made up from all the suns and moons and stars, from the dawns, noons, and midnights of the ages. It can, however, scarcely be this which makes the subtile charm of Rome, — this spell which changes the ordinary to the extraordinary within her borders, and imparts to the same architecture, the same sculpture, and the same painting that we see elsewhere, a Roman spirit and a Roman significance. For in

Rome we meet men and women who know nothing of its history and are yet overcome with its indescribable and spiritual effect, and Crawford reminds us that "Rome has been loved to the verge of folly by half-educated girls, by extremely flippant little women of the world, and by empty-headed dandies without number, as well as by most of the men of genius who have ever spent much time there."

I never feel that the Venus of Milo is happy in Paris, and am sorry for her exile; but Rome seems to be the very home of all that has been brought there. However, in studying such a matter seriously, one seeks the truth, and I quote several reliable authorities who tell it clearly.

Fergusson says, in his "History of Architecture," "View them as we will, the arts of Rome were never an indigenous or natural production of the soil or the people, but an aggregation of foreign styles in a state of transition from the old and time-honoured forms of pagan antiquity to the new development introduced by Christianity."

Lübke considers Roman sculpture to have been borrowed from the Greeks, but quotations from him would be too lengthy for our purpose.

Middleton says, in his "Remains of Ancient Rome," "The Romans, though quite devoid of any artistic originality or even refined appreciation," etc. And again, "It is frequently supposed that the main characteristic of the native architecture of Rome was the great development of the principle of the arch; but that the chief Roman invention was rather the extensive and very skilful use of concrete I have attempted to show," etc.

Mommsen, in his "History of Rome," says, "Latin art is nowhere original and often insignificant; but the fresh sensibility and the discriminating tact which appropriate what is good in others, constitute a high artistic merit." Again, the same author, speaking of the Italian in architecture, sculpture, and painting, says, "He was, during the

epoch of ancient culture, the best disciple of the Hellenes." Mommsen claims that at no period was Italian architecture original, saying, "The very oldest Italian architecture with which we are acquainted is not much less under the influence of that of Greece than the architecture of the Augustan Age."

And we must admit that this is no less true of sculpture when we reflect that the oldest statues, made of baked clay, erected in Rome, as, for example, those on the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, were executed at Veii, while the statue of Diana in the temple on the Aventine, the oldest statue of a divinity in Rome, was exactly like the statue of the Ephesian Artemis.

It is a curious and interesting fact that there are more remains in Rome from the earliest centuries of her existence, or the regal period, a little less than two and a half centuries, than from the republican period, which was very nearly twice as long. From the time when Lucius Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus were made consuls in 509 B. C. to that when Octavius was proclaimed Emperor as Augustus, in 27 B. C., Rome was persevering in the struggle which at length resulted in her glory under the Empire. Meantime she may be said to have had no literature, no art, no science. This is a remarkable record; and one fails to comprehend the cause which should have made a capital so powerful as was Rome, so prosperous also, actually barren in magnificence and in the results which power and prosperity ordinarily develop in any nation.

At length the flowering time came. Carthage, Egypt, Greece, all destroyed or reduced to dependence, Rome was the capital of the civilised world. Now, from having produced nothing in five centuries in letters or arts, her activity became such as has never been seen elsewhere. To Rome crowded all men who coveted distinction and were fitted to claim it. To Rome were brought the treasures of the globe.

And in Rome during the next three centuries more grand and important monuments were erected than before or since in the same length of time in any city of the world.

During the unproductive centuries, not only in Rome, but also along the shores of the Mediterranean, and from the

CORINTHIAN CAPITAL FROM THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.

Euphrates to the Tagus, an unconscious preparation for great artistic achievements had been taking place. Wealth and populations had increased; and what happened in Rome was accomplished in a minor degree in many other cities. Temples, palaces, theatres, baths, and other edifices arose by hundreds, and many larger and smaller cities attained to the same refinement and luxury of life that the excavation of Pompeii revealed; others were more grand and imposing, while Rome gathered within her walls the men and the materials which made it possible for her to become the Mistress of the World.

Doubtless it was achieved too hastily, this grandeur and greatness, to be as correct and refined as it might have

been; but each detail connected with this glorious culmination of Pagan and Imperial Rome, — in which the Christian Church was born, — each act of her rulers, each edifice erected, and each development of her civilisation, is of interest and value to us.

In Rome, ancient history ends and modern history begins; and all her story, both the old and the new, possesses a fascination thus far unequalled in history; and that this fascination should ever be equalled by another nation seems now beyond imagining.

The scope of this book does not permit the oft-repeated discussion as to the comparative influence of Etruscans and Greeks upon Roman art. If we consider what still exists in Rome in connection with our knowledge of what has been destroyed, we find almost nothing in Roman art that had not its model in Greece. In any case, the argument concerning Etruscan and Greek influence resolves itself into a circle. For since the decision has been reached that Greek art was not borrowed from the Etruscans; since the Etruscans had no temples that merit the name in comparison with those of Greece and Rome; since we know so little of the Etruscans as builders of anything but tombs; since we know almost nothing of any Etruscan civil structure; and since the slight Etruscan architectural remains are of a debased Doric or Ionic order, — does it not appear that the Etruscans and Romans alike depended on the Greeks for anything that can be called art? Unless we are hair-splitting contestants, may we not assume that, with few exceptions, the art of Rome was Hellenic?

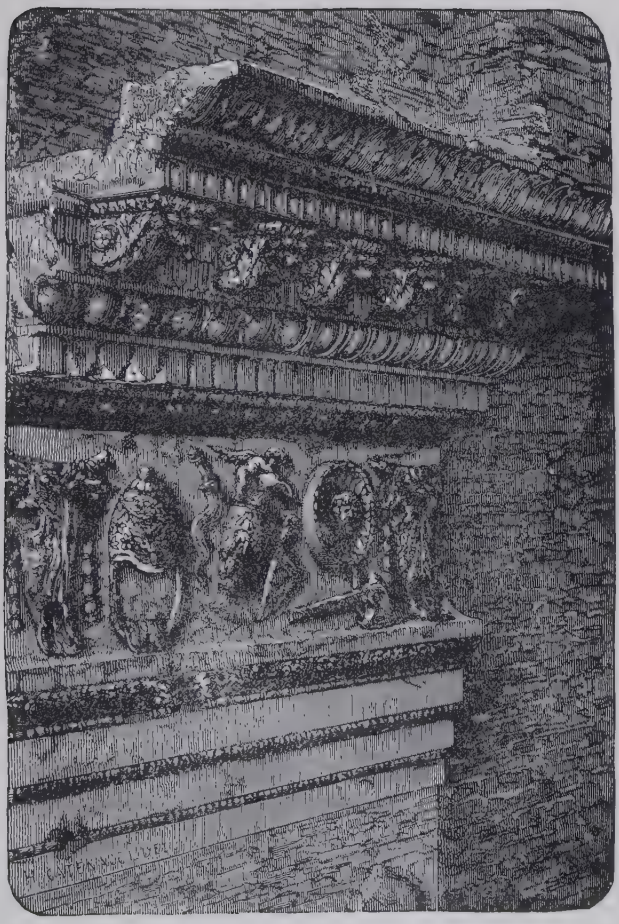
It is difficult to compare Roman architecture with that of other nations, because the Romans — as I have said on page 240 — applied architecture to so many and such varied purposes, and so constructed monuments involving both architectural and engineering skill, as to make it doubtful to what class they belonged. The Romans were

the first people to treat architecture as a minister to the numberless needs of a great nation. Before them, except in the Greek theatres, it had served the gods, the royal families, and the dead, alone.

It is sometimes said that the arch originated with the Romans. This should be differently stated; the arch itself they did not originate, but they applied it with great skill and success to various works of utility, and made it a universal feature in civil buildings. Their triumphant use of the arch was reached, however, in the dome of the Pantheon, which edifice may in a sense be claimed as an example of a new style of architecture. Its simple grandeur has not been surpassed. Its style demanded the invention of appropriate details, which the Romans failed to produce; but the Pantheon and the ruined Temple of Peace were the two Roman edifices which indicated the progress of the Romans towards the invention of an architecture distinctively their own.

The Romans not only demonstrated their power to adapt what already existed to many purposes in their use of the arch, but in that of the various orders of architecture also; they not only employed these in ways not before known, but they combined features of different orders, and created the so-called composite capitals and bases. In the Colosseum, for example, we see two styles most inappropriately used. The entire structure is arched, and a net, as it were, of Grecian columns, supporting an entablature, applied to it. The first glance reveals its faults, and a regret that buttresses were not used is involuntary; these would appear to sustain the whole, and would have added an effect of vast strength as a constructive element; while the columns used have the effect of sustaining the entablature only, and of adding their own burden to what the arches already had to bear.

The Roman Doric, derived from the Greek, differs from it



FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

through the introduction of an independent base, and certain ornamental additions to the capital. This order was used in Roman forums, courtyards, etc., and in the three-quarter columns in arcades, as well as for useful supports in civil buildings; but no purely Greek temple existed in the entire Roman territory. It would seem that these exquisite edifices, in the perfection of Greek refinement, were too sublimated in effect to please the rúder Romans.

The Ionic order suffered absolute degradation at the hands of the Romans, who appear neither to have understood nor appreciated this column. However, their structures were so lofty that they found it necessary to use the three orders of pillars, one above the other, and so placed the Ionic in the centre. Two capitals from the Temple of Concord, now in the Palace of the Conservators, having a pair of rams' heads at each corner, show the degeneration to which Ionic capitals were subjected. It is to be deplored that the two orders which had reached perfection in Greece were not appreciated and properly used at Rome.

With the Corinthian order it was quite different. That was still incomplete in the estimation of the Hellenes; for while exquisite in design and grace, the Greeks had not given it the strength which is an indispensable feature of a supporting architectural member. This the Romans accomplished, or perhaps it would be more just to say that Greek artists perfected this order in Rome. Within the Roman territory the Corinthian order underwent many modifications; and it is stated that as many as fifty varieties of Corinthian capitals were produced for Roman uses during the three fruitful centuries mentioned above. They vary from the elegant simplicity of the Greek artistic taste to that florid ornamentation loved by the Romans. Those in the portico of the Pantheon have fine capitals, not over-ornamented; but the incongruity of a plain shaft with a Corinthian capital affords an example of Roman methods.

The composite capitals of the Romans combined the lower half of the Corinthian with the upper half of the Ionic capital. Although the result was a rich and strong capital, it had the grave defect of exposing the junction of the two portions, and never became popular.

The Assyrian base was introduced at Rome too late for the perfection of such a column as might have been made with it, together with a Composite or Corinthian capital. This base was used in the church of S. Prassede, and one can imagine that for internal architecture it would be very acceptable with either an Ionic or Corinthian column.

Another use of a composite architecture, made by the Romans, was that of placing two columns about as far apart as they were high, and resting a long entablature on them, which, requiring a support, was supplemented by an arch resting on piers. A keystone projecting from the arch to support the entablature was necessarily longer and heavier than was in keeping with the proportions of the arch; and the whole arcade thus produced was clumsy and unsatisfactory. Various experiments for its improvement resulted in abolishing the piers and springing the arch from the pillars themselves; very handsome and dignified arcades were constructed in this manner.

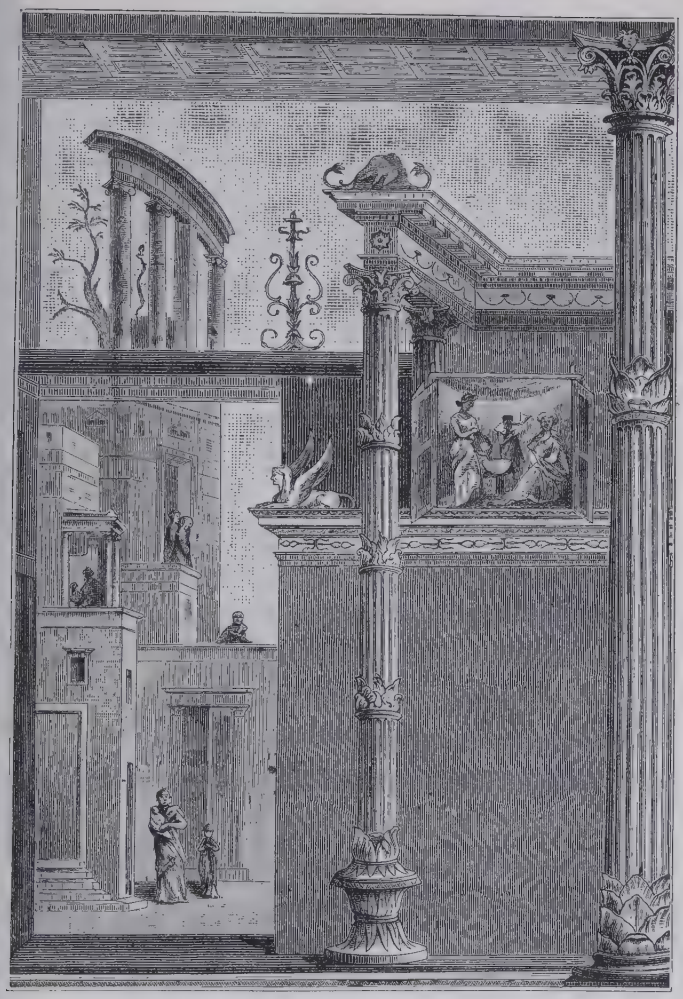
Without reviewing the different steps in the advance from wooden huts and mounds of earth, such as were used in the earliest years at Rome, to the splendid architecture gradually developed there, we may say that not until an acquaintance with the Greeks gave them models from which to work, and introduced to them such tools as they had not before seen, was any use made of stone, or, in fact, anything accomplished that merited the name of architecture. From the Greeks the Romans borrowed not only orders and designs, but also the ordinary methods and implements of construction, such as the preparation of mortar, the artificial lattice-work, the measuring-rod, and the use of iron, which they had not before known.

Naturally, domestic architecture first claims the attention of any people. The earliest houses of the Romans were essentially Etruscan; and for a long time, a portion of every house being consecrated to the god or spirit worshipped by the family, there was no thought of a temple or special home for the deity. That the Etruscans first erected temples and sepulchral chambers is proved by the term "Tuscanic," applied to the oldest house and temple architecture in Latium, as well as to the statues in baked clay, to which we have referred, which were known as "Tuscanic works."

The earliest Roman dwellings were the most simple habitations that could be imagined after the tent. Built of wood, with a pointed roof, covered with straw, or a sort of primitive shingle, they consisted of one square apartment with an aperture in the top, which admitted a little light and afforded an exit for the smoke, while directly beneath it, in the ground, was a hole for carrying off the rain.

An uncovered space between the door and the street was called the *vestibulum*, dressing-place, because here the Roman put on his toga before leaving his house, where he wore the tunic only. There were no upper stories, and, of course, no stairs. Possibly there were sleeping-closets and closets for stores around the one apartment, but this served all the general uses of the family and the personal uses of the head of the house and his wife. Here she found the marriage-bed when she came as a bride, and here her bier would stand when life ended. Here the cooking and eating was done; here the master received his friends, while the mistress and her maids here did their spinning. *Atrium*, "black roof," was clearly a suitable and significant term for this primitive Roman house.

As early as the time of Numa, 716–673 B. C., there were eight guilds of craftsmen: carpenters, coppersmiths, potters, goldsmiths, fullers, dyers, shoemakers, and flute-blowers.



WALL PAINTING FROM THE HOUSE OF LIVIA.

This was the time when agriculture was the chief pursuit of the Romans, whose garments were spun in their own houses. The absence of iron-workers and the fact that, by

the ritual, copper alone was used for the knives of the priests and for the sacred plough, seems to establish the fact that iron was not known.

Domestic architecture long remained very simple, although numerous practical improvements were adopted gradually, until, about 184 B. C., to the atrium were added a kitchen and bedrooms, a record-chamber and chapel, a court, garden, and garden colonnade. In the court and the colonnades columns were used, and although comforts and conveniences were thus largely increased, the materials remained simple and the construction plain and unornamented. Slight foundations of stone made the plain brick structures dry.

Marble columns were first used in private houses in 91 B. C., when Lucius Crassus inaugurated this custom by placing six columns of Hymettian marble in his splendid dwelling on the Palatine.

The Italian marble quarries were not yet in operation, but columns from ancient Greek edifices were already employed, and all original work done in Rome was executed by Greek artists who had migrated to the new capital.

About half a century before the Christian era a lavish use of marbles was in vogue. Carrara or Luna marble was then employed for the first time; the Numidian *giallo antico* and other coloured marbles were profusely used, and floors inlaid with marbles in mosaic, as well as dados of panelled marbles, were now extensively introduced.

The house of a noble or a wealthy man was called a *domus*, or mansion. It stood alone, surrounded by a court or garden, and was frequently very large on the ground. It was usually of a single story, never exceeding two. The custom of erecting long colonnades or porticoes demanded an increasing use of marble; and soon after Crassus had made his house the finest in Rome, Lepidus introduced the elegant improvement of paving his arcades with polished

slabs of Numidian marble. By general consent, this nobleman's palace was called the finest in Rome; but Pliny relates that within three and a half decades at least a hundred Roman houses excelled it. And yet, at a still later period it would seem that the Romans must have been ignorant of the immense marble quarries of their territory, since they continued to use it in comparatively thin slabs and in facings only. Even in the reign of Nero, Lucan expresses wonder at the way in which Orientals piled marbles in blocks, while the Masters of the World were forced to use it sparingly.

Curiously enough, the houses of the poor at this period were called *insulæ*, or islands, while they were built in large blocks and covered with a continuous roof. These houses were really little more than a collection of chambers, each one of which might make the home of a family. The life of the Roman common people was passed so largely out of doors that their homes were essentially used for little else than sleeping apartments. It was not unusual for these tenements to be built above rows of shops, having no connection with them, but entered by outside stairs. As it was permitted to make houses seventy feet high, several stories could be erected above the shops which lined the street.

These buildings were sometimes constructed around public edifices, and the servants required for them were thus lodged close at hand; this custom was also followed in the case of the dwellings of nobles, so that the slaves and freedmen of the family were frequently housed against the walls of the domus. There has long been a vexed question, and one not likely to be solved, as to the number of the Roman population at any given period. Many computations have been made, with widely differing results. So much exact knowledge of the premises necessary to this computation is wanting that it is altogether unsatisfactory to attempt to make it. But we do know that even the wealthy Romans, who had large apartments for the purposes of

social life, had but small sleeping-rooms; slaves were huddled together with an utter disregard of health or comfort, and doubtless the better classes of artisans, freedmen, etc., were much more closely packed in their houses than in modern days. Thus the space devoted to individuals of any class was much less than in the present time.

The recent excavations for laying out new quarters on the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal hills, have disclosed a goodly number of mansions and of the *insulæ*, or blocks; but the haste with which the "modern improvements" are carried on, destroys these most interesting objects almost as soon as they are discovered. When, in these days, an ancient house is examined, it is, as a rule, the ground-floor alone that remains; but from the house on the Marble Plan, from the mosaic plan of a country villa found at Algeria, and from occasional passages gathered here and there in ancient writings, we know that Roman houses were, after the earliest periods, built in several stories. The lower floor, with but few windows, and those grated, was doubtless devoted to offices and store-rooms, and the important apartments built higher up, with large windows, and plenty of light.

Even the Roman dwellings which have been excavated in modern times — to most of which I have already referred — are so fragmentary in their remains that they afford little satisfaction. We can study Roman domestic architecture at Pompeii to better advantage than in Rome itself. For, although this latter was largely a Greek city, Roman architecture was everywhere Grecian; and there is reason to believe that the houses and villas throughout the Roman Empire had many important features in common.

By taking into account the one room of the villa of Mæcenas remaining, believed to have been the greenhouse, and considering portions of marble, mosaic, and fresco decorations which still remain in museums in great numbers,

WALL PAINTING FROM THE HOUSE OF LIVIA.

— adding to these the remains of the house of Sallust with its handsome staircase, — and not forgetting the many beautiful objects scattered in various collections which made the decoration of different private houses, we may form some idea of the general impression that these mansions must have made.

But doubtless the most satisfactory example of domestic architecture remaining in Rome is the so-called house of Livia, on the Palatine, which really made a part of the Palace of the Cæsars, and has been already mentioned. Here we are told that Livia dwelt after the death of Augustus. It will be noticed by all visitors to this house who have seen Pompeii, that the resemblance in style, plan, and decoration to which I have referred, is perfectly apparent here. The mural paintings are, however, superior to any found in Pompeii; in fact, they are the finest ancient frescoes that are known. They belong to the Augustan Age without doubt, and are wonderfully preserved.

The finest Roman dwellings were doubtless as splendid and magnificently imposing according to their purpose, as the Roman palaces; and we have reason to think that the Palace of the Cæsars, now a vast collection of ruins, was the most magnificent and splendidly decorated royal palace ever erected during the centuries of which we have any knowledge. In wealth and power the Cæsars exceeded all other rulers, and they were a most self-indulgent and lavish race. They could also command the services of the best Grecian artists to plan and to execute their enormous undertakings, while they plundered from the known world the most valuable and gorgeous objects in existence for the adornment of the wonderful architectural monuments with which they crowded Rome.

Their palace, ruined as it is, has even now a wonderful effect on one who becomes at all familiar with it, — the effect of power and grandeur, which pertains to enormous masses, and the quality of permanence. The æsthetic element no

longer exists here; no remnant of that world of marble, of sculpture, mosaic, and painting, that once made its splendour, remains; but from that portion which overhangs the Circus Maximus, looking on one hand to the Baths of Caracalla, and on the other to the Amphitheatre, the Palace of the Cæsars is still a most impressive scene, — impressive as are the miles of aqueduct arches, and the Cyclopean walls, which so emphatically bear witness to the comprehensive power of the rulers of Rome under whom these vast achievements were possible.

The only Roman palace of the first order, which still enables one to judge of the plan and extent of these splendid structures, is that built by Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia. This Emperor was neither as powerful nor as wealthy as were some of his predecessors, and that he should have erected such a habitation as this — intended for a villa in which to pass his old age — is a marvellous manifestation of Roman grandeur and magnificence.

It is a fortified palace, and consequently plain in its exterior architecture; and it is difficult to judge of its resemblance to the Palace of the Cæsars. It surpassed most modern European palaces in size as in splendour, covering about nine and a half English acres. The especially distinctive feature of this palace, and that most frequently mentioned, is the great gallery, twenty-four feet wide and five hundred and fifteen long, which extended across the entire southern end of the palace, towards the sea; it is architecturally beautiful, and commands a view not to be exceeded in its kind. It is impossible to reconcile the character of Diocletian with such a love of the beauties of nature as the building of this gallery indicates. Possibly his architect did him a favour far beyond his appreciation.

Although I have spoken, in previous chapters, of the various architectural monuments in Rome, I deem it wise to add somewhat to what has been written, even at the risk of

some repetition. The subject is of such importance in any adequate view of Rome, that too much can scarcely be said of it.

As one studies the Roman temples, of which the Pantheon is the only worthy representative remaining, he is sadly disappointed in finding how little absolutely satisfactory knowledge of them can be gained. For example, in the case of the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, we find that no connected and intelligible account of this great national temple exists; and no fragment of it remains, to our absolute certainty. From many writers we gather interesting references to the temple and its possessions, but these writers disagree. Not in the main fact that here was a most important, magnificent, and enormously wealthy shrine, dedicated to the great Jove, but in their accounts of its details; as when Livy says that the statue of Jupiter was the work of Turianus, an Etruscan sculptor, and Pliny records that it was made by Volca of Veii. These disagreements are not of vital importance; but one has a sensation of being cheated when he spends his time to read one authority only to be contradicted by another. As this temple was more than once destroyed and rebuilt, both sculptors may have made statues of its deity; but there is so much of legend about it that no clear-cut idea of it can be formed.

This temple, having been built on the Etruscan model, was doubtless small, its greatest magnificence being in its substructure and its enclosure, where, as already explained, the important rites of worship took place.

Not only have the most ancient temples disappeared, but little remains of those of the Augustan Age, — a few columns, the substructures in some cases, and scanty portions, known to have been built into other edifices. Of the Temple of Minerva, parts were used in S. Peter's, where a portion of its architrave was converted into the high altar by Paul V. in 1606. The same Pope cut its columns to adorn his fountain

on the Janiculum. Other portions are in the Borghese chapel in S. Maria Maggiore; but even the scanty remnants which have been permitted to remain — the columns, a section of the entablature with sculptured cornice and frieze — serve to indicate the original beauty of this temple.

The small Temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus, is interesting from the traditions connected with it, one of which relates that it was built by the great Emperor in gratitude for his escape from death when a servant who was carrying a torch before his litter was killed by lightning.

Suetonius relates that Jupiter Capitolinus appeared to Augustus in a dream and expressed jealousy of Jupiter Tonans on account of the erection of a temple in his honour. Augustus then affixed bells to the shrine of the new temple, and pacified the complaining Jove by assuring him that the god of the small temple was simply his doorkeeper.

Pliny mentions that the Temple of Jupiter Tonans was constructed of solid marble blocks, such buildings being rare in Rome. A portion of the wall of the Regia, rebuilt in 36 B. C., and the circular temple in the Forum Boarium, probably erected during the reign of Augustus, are among the few examples of this kind of structure remaining.

This beautiful circular temple was once erroneously called the Temple of Vesta. The present edifice, dating from its rebuilding by Augustus, was known in the Middle Ages as the church of S. Stefano delle Carozze. It is now known as S. Maria del Sole, so named from a miraculous, shining picture of the Madonna found floating on the river near by. The remaining nineteen columns are graceful; and when the eight marble steps which surrounded the entire edifice were perfect, the whole effect of this circular peristyle must have been extremely fine. In design it closely resembles the actual Temple of Vesta, and is the finest example of this kind of structure remaining in Rome.

The Temple of Mars Ultor affords an example of a kind of construction which combines the use of solid marble blocks and of walls faced with thin marble linings. Spaces are left between the courses of solid blocks, which are built up in peperino and lined with Greek marble. Like the three remaining columns, the entire fragments of this structure are of the finest material and workmanship.

This temple was erected by Augustus in fulfilment of his vow to the god who, at Philippi, avenged the death of Julius Cæsar, when Brutus and Cassius, seeing that their cause was lost, deserted it and their soldiers by committing suicide. In any case, it seems most fitting that this battle should have been signally commemorated by the Empire, since it may be said that the Republic perished at Philippi. The two great Republican leaders, flushed by their successes in Macedonia and Syria, assumed that they should be triumphant here. Brutus had been hailed as Imperator, and had even coined money stamped with his own effigy, and, according to Dion, bearing an inscription which declared that, together with Cassius, he had restored liberty to Rome.

By the union of their forces they led nineteen legions against Octavius, who, weak from illness, was borne to the field in a litter. The legend that the ghost of Cæsar had summoned Brutus to meet him at Philippi was taken by the ancients as the cause of his final weakness. They believed that it was remorse alone that led him to commit the same act for which he had so blamed Cato. His body, wrapped in purple, was sent to his mother, Servilia, for burial; and his wife, Porcia, being determined upon self-destruction, and all weapons having been taken from her, the historian Appian relates that she filled her mouth with coals from a burning brazier, firmly closed her lips, and died from suffocation. Plutarch, however, doubts if Porcia died because Brutus was dead, and other writers suggest that she inhaled the fumes of the burning coal.

Facing the present Sacra Via, at the east end of the Forum, is the Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina. The Emperor erected it to the memory of Faustina in 141 A. D. After his death, by a decree of the Senate, an upper line was added to the inscription, including him in the dedication of the temple. The largest portion of the interior has been converted into the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda.

The front has been excavated to its original level, and is well preserved. Noble monolithic columns of cipollino still remain; also a frieze of white Athenian marble, sculptured with reliefs of candelabra and griffins, it being an almost exact reproduction of a frieze found at Delos.

The masonry in the lower portions, recently uncovered, is of excellent workmanship. This temple is represented on coins struck in honour of Faustina; and two seated statues are seen, as if through the open door of the cella — probably intended for Antoninus and Faustina.

The small size of the Roman temples is surprising to one who regards them from the modern view of the uses of religious edifices; but if the ancient view is taken into account, the size becomes unimportant. The splendour and richness of the structure and its decorations are significant of the honours paid the god, whom the ancients preferred to worship without the temple. It appears, indeed, that they had no conception of an all-pervading spirit, or omnipresence, and temple walls seemed to obscure their ideas of deity. Therefore the *templum*, or the entire sacred precinct of the temple enclosures, as before mentioned, was essentially the place for worship, these enclosures being far larger than the temple itself.

The ancient Latin religion was not inventive, its one peculiar deity being the double-headed Janus, or Janus *bifrons*, the "beginner," or "opener," whom they invoked at the beginning of every undertaking. Gates, doors, and the morning were sacred to Janus from the earliest period

of his worship; and gradually almost numberless matters were confided to his care. The opening of the year, in the name of the first month, still commemorates this pagan deity in many countries.

Later, this god was represented with four faces, on account of his presiding over the four seasons, and was then called Janus *quadrifrons*. The enclosure dedicated to Janus was called a temple, but the word "passage" would describe it more accurately. The custom of leaving it open during a war suggested that Janus had gone to aid the Roman army, and closing it in times of peace was intended to prevent his escape. New Year's Day was the festival day of Janus, and the custom of making gifts on that day originated in prehistoric Rome.

There is a legend that the first Temple of Janus was erected by King Numa; at all events, it was one of the very earliest erected in Rome.

Pliny speaks of two statues of this god, the first being in bronze and the work of a very ancient Etruscan sculptor; he says that this figure indicated with its fingers the number of days in the Roman year, which was three hundred and fifty-five. Augustus brought from Egypt a statue of Janus by Scopas or Praxiteles. Pliny explains the uncertainty regarding the sculptor by saying that the statue was very thickly gilded; and the number of foreign statues brought to Rome was so large that the people, more interested in other matters than in art, failed to keep a record of the authors of these works.

There were many statues of Janus, as well as arches dedicated to him. Domitian seems to have especially devoted himself to honouring this deity, and set up so many *Jani* with chariots and other triumphal insignia that at length some wag inscribed one of them with the word ἀρκεῖ — that 's enough — in the spirit of the modern slang, "give us a rest."

From the present point of view the Roman temples were very defective in want of height. If we imagine ourselves on some elevation looking down upon ancient Rome, we shall see an extent of almost level roofs. The lines of the temple roofs were, indeed, somewhat broken by the statues placed on them; but even when of colossal size these did not give an adequate impression of height, certainly not of the soaring aspiration which church towers symbolise. Nothing more clearly illustrates the absolute absence of spiritual desire from the pagan religion than does its utter content with the protection afforded by the powers of Nature if they were but suitably propitiated.

In very early days a few watch towers arose from fortresses and palaces, but their very purpose, the discovery of advancing enemies, fixed the thoughts of the watchers earthward; and not until bells were introduced was there a reason for attaching towers to sacred edifices, or erecting them near churches as belonging to them.

But even when the roofs of Rome were nearly on a level, the hills which surrounded the Forum were crowned by many pillared temples, and looking up from the city these must have produced a fine effect, and the dwellings of the gods appeared to be the guardians of their worshippers.

Under the Empire the columns of Trajan and Antonine served a good purpose in breaking the sky-line of Rome, while some of the grand tombs were more lofty than the temples, and the towers on the Wall of Aurelian added a picturesque and artistic element to the general view.

Not until the time of Pope Adrian I. — 772 A. D. — were church bells used, and the erection of church spires or belfries generally adopted, and these belonged to the Gothic rather than to any earlier order of architecture.

The Romans cared more for the courts of justice and for civil government than for the courts of the temples and religious affairs. Consequently, while their temples were small,

some of their basilicas were grand in size and proportion. The ruins of the Ulpian Basilica, and those of the Basilica of Maxentius, — more frequently called the Temple of Peace, — are sufficient to enable archæologists to restore their plans with reasonable confidence. These were the two most splendid basilicas in Rome, and that begun by Maxentius was finished by Constantine.

I have explained the form of the basilica on page 209, when speaking of the Christian churches which were constructed on their plan and still retain the name, which is correctly applied only to churches of the ancient form. The origin of the basilica is unknown; but as the name is Greek, and so many other architectural plans were copied from the Greeks by the Romans, it is not unreasonable to suppose that these were either copied from Greek edifices, or were suggested by the *cellæ* of the temples, and were enlarged and adapted to secular rather than religious purposes.

There was every reason why the Christians should adopt the basilican form of edifice, since pillars suited to this use were to be found all over Rome, while wooden roofs were inexpensive, and the whole effect of the structures was dignified and impressive.

The earliest Roman basilicas corresponded essentially to bazaars. Cato, in 184 B. C., built the Porcian Basilica, or Silversmiths' Hall, beside the Senate-house, and gradually numbers of basilicas surrounded the Forum, and small private shops disappeared before the advance of fine columnar halls, in the more dignified of which the courts were held.

The Romans were slow to consider public wants and conveniences; and not until Cato's time were the basins into which the aqueduct water flowed properly lined with stone, and other improvements made which looked to the comfort of the people, whose bare necessities had hitherto been the only consideration. A certain incipient luxury had been

introduced in private dwellings, and the same spirit which had prompted this now extended to public edifices; colonnades were built, and the basilicas or Attic courts erected.

The small number of theatres in Rome, and the absence of any that could be considered fine, is a surprise to the student of Roman architecture, especially when the importance and beauty of Greek theatres is considered in connection with the fact that the Greeks were the artistic models of the Romans. The estimation of those who worked for money, either with brain or hands, was so far from honourable, that actors, singers, etc., were denounced, and were incapable of voting in the burgess assembly or serving in the burgess army. Moreover, the police magistrates were especially severe against them, and the urban magistrates could legally imprison or inflict bodily punishment upon actors at any time, and wherever found. Thus, three and a half centuries before the Christian era, and about four centuries after the foundation of Rome, everything connected with the theatre was held in perfect contempt by Romans of position.

The presentation of plays — all such entertainments being free — was essentially confined to the national festivals, when they made a part of the public shows and were held in buildings that were little more than wooden sheds; a scaffolding made the stage, with an apology of a scene at the back; there was no provision for seating the audience, and no decoration of any sort. It is curious that while it was entirely reputable to perform in the masked farces, — in which the characters of Maccus, Bucco, Pappus, and Dossennus, personating the harlequin, the glutton, the good papa, and the wise counsellor, may have been the ancestors of the actors in Pulcinello, — the paid actors of the theatre, who wore no masks, were esteemed as distinctly infamous, and not at all above the rope-dancers and buffoons.

When we consider this condition of things at this period,

and take into account the stubborn conservatism of the ancient Romans, we are surprised to find that a century later the guild of actors was allowed a place of worship in the Aventine Temple of Minerva, and that Roman plays were presented on a Roman stage, though written by the Greek Livius. The theatres, however, remained as before, and as late as 155 B. C. there were still no seats provided; those who did not bring chairs stood, reclined, or sat on the ground. The women were separated from the men and relegated to the worst places. In 194 B. C. the best places were given to the senators, which shows that the most reputable men attended, although these officials may have regarded it as a public duty, rather than a pleasure.

The audiences were not select, and probably resembled those of more recent days who flock to free entertainments. Children were freely admitted with their mothers; and both the women and children were noisy, expressing any emotion excited by the play in a boisterous manner, and, on the whole, the proceedings were disorderly.

Late in the second century before our era, the *equites*, or equestrian order, — now essentially wealthy people to whom money had brought rank and position, — had fourteen benches reserved for their use at the theatres and all burgess entertainments; this indicates the better consideration that was gradually accorded to the theatre in Rome.

It is not possible to make here a detailed statement of the advance of the drama; many circumstances prove that more permanent and commodious theatres were needed, and in various provincial towns good stone theatres had been built while there were still none in the capital. When, in 155 B. C., a stone theatre in Rome had been contracted for, its erection was prohibited by the Senate.

Ten years later, after the conquest of Corinth, things were made a little more favourable for those engaged in dramatic ventures. The stage was more permanently

constructed and its still scanty scenery was provided at the public expense, whereas this cost had previously devolved upon the manager of the theatre, and was paid out of the meagre allowance devoted by the city fathers to these entertainments.

About 78 B. C., the custom of stretching canvas above the theatre was introduced, thus protecting both actors and audience from sun, wind, and rain; and, in fact, vast sums of money were spent in erecting and re-erecting wooden theatres, which if applied to permanent edifices would have made a great public economy. But not until 55 B. C. was a stone theatre built. Pompey the Great took this decided step; and he moreover celebrated its dedication with a magnificence which surpassed any like ceremony which had before taken place in Rome.

Thus it resulted that in the history of Roman architecture but three theatres of importance can be mentioned, those of Pompey, of Balbus, and of Marcellus; the last two were completed in 13 B. C. That of Marcellus is also called the Theatre of Augustus, as Marcellus died before its dedication, which was conducted by the Emperor. In addition to these were the theatres in the great baths.

The study of Roman theatres can be most advantageously prosecuted outside of Rome itself. There was a theatre at Herculaneum and two at Pompeii, but perhaps the most satisfactory one remaining is at Orange, in Southern France. The great wall at the back of this theatre may well be ranked among the important massive works of the Romans. It is one hundred and sixteen feet high and three hundred and forty long, broken only by the corbels, which supported masts that held the awnings, and a row of blank arches about midway of its height above the basement. When speaking of this theatre, Fergusson says: —

"Nowhere does the architecture of the Romans shine so much as when their gigantic buildings are left to tell their own tale by

the imposing grandeur of their masses. Whenever ornament is attempted, their bad taste comes out. The size of their edifices, and the solidity of their construction, were only surpassed by the Egyptians, and not always by them; and when, as here, the mass of material heaped up stands unadorned in all its native grandeur, criticism is disarmed, and the spectator stands awe-struck by its majesty, and turns away convinced that truly 'there were giants in those days.'"

Amphitheatres and baths are essentially the representative productions of Roman architecture; and there is little for me to add to what I have already said of their construction. Wherever a Roman colony was established, whether near the capital or remote from it, there the ruins of amphitheatres are found. The mortal combats of men, or of beasts, or of both, seemed necessary to the Romans; and in Britain, Gaul, and Germany, the amphitheatre and its savage scenes made as large an element in their lives as when in Rome itself.

It is not singular that dramatic exhibitions should fail to attract or satisfy a people who delighted in such brutalities, which may have tended to make good soldiers, — good slayers, at least, — by thus imparting an element of pleasure to the spectacle of cruelties and agonies that are indescribable. But what counterbalancing influence existed in the life of the Romans that could soften them, or impart an interest in the refinements and arts of other nations?

I have no space to add to what I have already said of the Roman Triumphal Arches, Pillars of Victory, Tombs, Bridges, and Aqueducts, although each class of these monuments might easily be treated in a separate volume. There is, however, one unique and interesting edifice in Rome which should be mentioned. It stands on the Esquiline near the Porta S. Lorenzo, and has been improperly called the Temple of Minerva Medica; but as the site of the true temple of that name, with inscriptions confirming its genuineness, was discovered in 1887, this building must necessarily have borne another name.

Naturally there is an opportunity for much speculation concerning this picturesque ruin, which has been fully improved. Fergusson inclines to the opinion that it was a tomb, although he does not state this over-confidently. He also believes it to have belonged to the latest days of the Empire, or perhaps more probably to the Christian era, as he finds in it a greater similarity to the architecture of the time of Justinian than to that of earlier periods.

Middleton thinks it was a nymphæum or a portion of the Baths of Gallienus, 263–268 A. D., who is said to have built extensive thermæ in the Licinian Gardens, a favourite resort of this Emperor, which were situated between the Porta S. Lorenzo and the Porta Maggiore. This is the neighbourhood that Commendatore Lanciani regrets not having been more thoroughly explored; and when we read his list of the great number of objects found in these gardens within a space but fifty by thirty feet in size, we sympathise with his regret. We can scarcely doubt that this interesting edifice made a portion of the above-mentioned baths. At various times the statues of different deities that filled its niches have been discovered near it.

Middleton assigns it to an even later date than that which Fergusson suggests. It is, however, so curiously built that it can be compared with nothing that would serve to fix the period to which it belongs. In the centre is a ten-sided hall, with a domed vault, ninety feet high, and most skilfully constructed.

Around the sides of this hall are nine niches for statues, and over each niche and above the door are windows, thus occupying the ten sides. During the Middle Ages this structure was known as the *Galuzze*, which may have been a corruption of Gallienus. Originally this central apartment was surrounded by other rooms, and the entire edifice was richly decorated with porphyry and marbles.

The architecture which prevailed in all the Roman terri-

tory, from the age of Constantine to that of Gregory the Great, about 600 A. D., may be termed Western Romanesque, which during this period was essentially uninfluenced by other styles. It was a transitional order, between the ancient classical and the Gothic architecture which succeeded it. The Romanesque style was the outcome of the attempt to modify classical architecture and suit it to Christian needs and uses. It flourished until the desolation caused by the Barbarians interrupted all new undertakings and left a period of which we have no architectural history.

From the time when edifices of consequence were again erected, we should use the general term "Gothic" for the architecture of the north, and the term "Byzantine" for that of the south of Italy, although neither of these are exact or satisfactory, but are still the best generally descriptive terms known to us.

Constantine fixed the epoch of the change from pagan to Christian architecture, which does not mean the abolition of the former and the introduction of an absolutely new order. On the contrary, the transition was so gradual, and so much of the ancient style was adapted to the new requirements, that an understanding of the first is necessary in forming an adequate conception of the last.

I have already, in an earlier chapter, given as much space as is here practicable to the process of transforming the pagan basilica to that of the Christians, to the introduction of circular churches, etc.; but before passing to a later period it is interesting to consider the extent to which this architecture was employed in Rome itself previous to the Renaissance. I shall give a table of the thirty Christian basilicas erected in Rome from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries. This table is made up from those of Bunsen and Fergusson; and while it probably is not absolutely exact, it is valuable, as it gives clearness to its subject and a basis from which to enlarge its study. San Clemente is not in-

cluded in the list, as the dates connected with the different churches on the same spot, and called by the same name, are somewhat uncertain.

BASILICAS OF ROME.

Fourth Century.

S. Peter's	Constantine, five aisles; about 330 A. D.
S. John Lateran	Constantine, five aisles, founded 333 ? A. D.
S. Paul's	Theodosius and Honorius, five aisles, 386 A. D.
S. Pudentiana	335 ? A. D.

Fifth Century.

S. Sabina	Pope Celestine, about 425 A. D.
S. Maria Maggiore	Pope Sixtus III. 432 A. D.
S. Pietro in Vincoli	Eudoxia, Greek Doric pillars, 442 A. D.

Sixth Century.

S. Lorenzo, early portion	Pope Pelagius, galleries, 580 A. D.
S. Balbina	Gregory the Great, no side aisles, 600 A. D.

Seventh Century.

S. Agnes	Honorius I., galleries, 625 A. D.
Quattro Coronati	Honorius I., 625 A. D.
S. Giorgio in Velabro	Leo II., 682 A. D.
S. Chrisogono	Gregory III., 730 A. D.

Eighth Century.

S. Giovanni a Porta Latina	Adrian I., 790 ? A. D.
S. Maria in Cosmedin	790 A. D.
S. Vincenzo alle Tre Fontane	790 A. D.
S. Lorenzo, nave	About 796 ? A. D.

NINTH CENTURY.

SS. Nereo ed Achilles . . .	Leo III., about 800 A. D.
S. Praxede	Paschal I., 820 A. D.
S. Maria in Dominica . . .	820 A. D.
S. Martino ai Monti	Sergius and Leo, 844, 855 A. D.
S. Nicolo in Carcere	About 900 A. D.
S. Bartolomeo in Isola . . .	900 A. D.

TENTH CENTURY.

S. John Lateran	Rebuilt by Sergius III., 910 A. D.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

S. Clemente	Rebuilt by Paschal, 1118 A. D.
S. Maria in Trastevere . . .	Innocent II., 1135 A. D.
S. Croce	Lucius, 1144 A. D.
S. Maria in Ara Cœli . . .	Uncertain.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

S. Maria sopra Minerva . . .	Gothic, Gregory XI. about 1370 A. D.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

S. Agostino	Renaissance? about 1480 A. D.

The eleventh and thirteenth centuries produced nothing to be added to this list. It is difficult to assign a positive style to S. Agostino; it may be called the last of the old architecture, or the first of the new, as one likes. Where the number of aisles is not given, there are three. All these basilicas except the last two have flat wooden ceilings over the central aisle, of which the construction is generally exposed. S. Agnes and the old part of S. Lorenzo have two-storied side aisles; in the others these aisles are but one story, and are usually half as wide as the central aisle.

It is difficult to fix the date at which a certain style of architecture begins or ends, as in regard to that when the

Romanesque was abandoned and the Gothic introduced. The records of the Church, however, assign the beginning of Gothic art to the time of Gregory the Great, 590–603 A. D.

Perhaps the best statement is that from the time of this notable Pope during a period of five centuries, architecture, like everything else, was groping in uncertain paths; and the initial attempts of the two women, Theodelinda in 600, and Matilda in 1077, may be said to have done much to develop the Gothic order, which claimed its individuality in the time of Gregory VII., 1073–1080.

In the fourth chapter I have spoken of the founding and other matters relating to the most ancient basilica of S. Peter's. Here I shall speak of it more in detail. This church, with that of S. Maria Maggiore, are the two of the four principal basilicas that retain sufficient of their original interest to be attractive. S. Paul's, or S. Paolo fuori le Mura, has been so utterly changed, first by alterations, and later by fire, that while it is a most satisfactory and magnificent modern church, it has not the interest that pertains to S. Peter's and S. Maria Maggiore, which have some features, at least, of a much earlier date.

S. John Lateran, too, has been so signally changed from its original appearance that, while it is historically most interesting, it has lost its architectural beauty, and beyond its original dimensions, which can easily be traced, it retains nothing of its primitive arrangement.

The great number of popes and architects who contributed to the rearing of S. Peter's, taken together with the sculptors and other artists who have furnished its decoration, make a small regiment of those to whom this basilica has been an incitement and an object of affection.

After the Dark Ages, in the earliest period of the Renaissance, Pope Nicholas V., in 1450, finding that the old church was rapidly falling into decay, commissioned Leon Battista, Alberti, and Bernardo Rossellino to make

plans for a new and larger church. Five years later Pope Nicholas died; and not until the time of the Venetian Pope, Paul II., was the work continued. He, too, lived but a short time, and little progress was made until Julius II. came to the papal throne in 1503.

This Pope was a great man. No longer young, and delicate in health when elected Pope, he was possessed of an energy which overcame physical suffering, and all other kinds of obstacles that came between him and the ends he had in view. His great desire was the establishment of one grand national kingdom. He went to the field to fight in his own battles, and conquered; he gathered much treasure together, and left it in the vaults of the Castle of S. Angelo at his death. And whatever he conquered or gained, he did it for the Church — not for his relatives, the Rovere. He was rough, but dignified; fierce, but not cruel; and more noble than all other popes in his appreciation of great artists and their works, to which quality was added a marvellous power to discern those who merited his protection, and to draw them to himself and enlist their devotion to his schemes.

While a cardinal, Julius had employed the architect Giuliano di Sangallo; and the Pope at once summoned him to Rome and occupied him in various works, but did not make him architect of S. Peter's, for which post Sangallo had hoped. To this service he appointed Bramante d'Urbino. As pontifical architect under both Alexander VI. and Julius II., Bramante was employed on the cloister of the monks della Pace; the fountain of Trastevere; a large portion of the Palazzo della Cancellaria; the arrangement of the space between the Vatican and the Belvedere; and the basilica of S. Peter's.

Under Bramante the work on S. Peter's advanced rapidly; he had great fertility of invention and undoubted genius. His style, at first cold and stiff, became majestic and

elegant. He had small regard for the remains of antiquity, and became notorious for his destruction of such monuments at Rome. The only remnants of his work in S. Peter's are the four great arches which support the tower of the dome. Bramante was a bitter enemy of Michael Angelo, being jealous of him as an architect on his own account, and jealous of him as a painter on account of Raphael, who was Bramante's nephew. Michael Angelo cordially returned the dislike and enmity of Bramante; and on one occasion these two artists indulged in a most violent scene in the presence of the Pope.

It had become evident that Bramante was scheming to drive Michael Angelo from Rome, that he and Raphael might be the first two in the capital. Michael Angelo, fully aware of his intrigues, upbraided him with all he had endured from him; he also demanded his reasons for demolishing the splendid old columns which had supported the ceiling of S. Peter's, and which then lay in fragments where he had thrown them down; "to place a million of bricks one upon another is no art," exclaimed Michael Angelo, "but to execute a single column like those you have destroyed is a great art." And having begun, he freed his mind of all his indignation and his hatred of Bramante, as he would have done had the Pope not been there.

But Julius, who justly estimated the value of each, permitted Michael Angelo to bluster, while he could not prevent Bramante from showing the despicable traits of his character. But as an architect Bramante must have been worthy the Pope's confidence, when even Michael Angelo, years after Bramante's death, paid him the following tribute: —

"Bramante was, if any one deserves the name, one of the most able architects since the days of the ancients. And, as it is evident now, whatever the standard of beauty, whoever departs from his idea, as Sangallo did, departs from the very rules of art."

In 1514 Bramante died, and was interred in S. Peter's with great honours.

Julius had been Pope but two years when he summoned Michael Angelo to Rome in great haste, and he speedily left his important work in Florence to attend upon the Head of the Church. The first commission which Julius gave the artist was the erection of a colossal mausoleum for himself, to be built in S. Peter's. The design made by the master satisfied the Pope, who ordered him to decide at once upon the spot in the basilica best suited to the purpose. This church was already a treasure-house of artistic works; and surrounded as it was with various chapels, cloisters, dwellings for the clergy, and the Vatican Palace, it was an ecclesiastical stronghold, so important and so exalted among the churches of the world that even so grand and proud an artist as Michael Angelo might well be pleased to be added to its makers by some more imposing work than his exquisite Pietà, already in the chapel of S. Petronilla. In this basilica emperors were crowned, anathemas pronounced, and pardons promulgated, while here the tribute of all lands was brought. Where else could an artist place his work with greater confidence that it would be seen and judged by the greatest of all nations?

When Nicholas V. died he left an unfinished tribune behind the old basilica. Michael Angelo advised the Pope to finish this and place his mausoleum there. But this plan, with many others, came to naught. We cannot here give all the story of the "Tragedy of the Mausoleum," as Condivi called it; but it was the first association of Michael Angelo with Julius II. and with S. Peter's, and so leads on to other matters in connection with the famous basilica.

In April, 1506, Julius, in presence of thirty-five cardinals, laid the corner-stone of Bramante's foundations, which neither pope nor architect lived to know were all too weak. In 1513 Leo X. succeeded Julius, and the master survived but a year.

He was followed by Giuliano di Sangallo, Giocondo da Verona, and Raphael, making what we should now term an architectural commission. But these colleagues did little more than make plans, that of Raphael being the one they intended to follow. In actual work they had accomplished little more than the strengthening of some piers before Sangallo and Raphael died.

Leo X. then employed Baldassare Peruzzi, who found that Raphael's plan of a Latin cross would be far too costly to be carried out, and returned to the earlier design of a Greek cross. Leo died the year after the death of Raphael, and almost nothing was accomplished at S. Peter's by his immediate successors.

When Paul III. succeeded to the papacy in 1534, he appointed Antonio Sangallo as architect of the basilica, and this master died too soon to have accomplished much more than to make his plans, which is also true of his successor, Giulio Romano, who died in the year in which he was appointed. This singularly repeated fatality would seem to have been sufficient to deter an artist from attempting the work; but Michael Angelo accepted the position of architect of S. Peter's from Paul III., when he was in his seventy-second year, and prosecuted its building with great vigour during his remaining years, retaining his office until he died, at the age of eighty-nine.

During these years he suffered many annoyances, but met them with his wonderful determination. His first care was to strengthen the piers, enlarge the tribune, and begin the dome on a different plan from that of Bramante, retaining the design of the Greek cross. Leonardo da Vinci laid down a law that the less resistance in the material that is worked, the greater the art. Accordingly the poet and musician would stand as the highest artists, the painter second, the sculptor third, and the architect last. Michael Angelo had executed mighty works as a sculptor and a painter, and had

written poems that give him a place among the honoured poets of his country, and lead Italians to call him "a poet, a painter, and one who was great in all arts."

This wonderful man was now to crown his career by showing his power in an art which Leonardo considered the least. But there are other views of this question; and while to-day such an argument could scarcely arise, it is interesting to consider its bearings. There is a view in which architecture is the most mechanical of arts, for the reason that when the artist has conceived his plan and given it life in his drawing, mechanics of various grades can erect the edifice. This is but one way of saying that when architecture embodies artistic ideas it is an art; and when, as often happens, a work of a mere builder and one of a true architect are so situated that they can be compared, the most untrained eye at once perceives the difference.

In the abstract and loftiest view of architecture it cannot be mechanical. It is customary to use the word "architecture" where the word "building" would be much nearer what is intended to be said; for example, we speak of the architecture of many human dwellings in which there is not a particle of anything but the product of mechanical skill. Dwellings can be made practically comfortable, well ventilated, spacious, and in every way delightfully usable, and still be as far removed from anything that merits the term "artistic" as plain wall painting is removed from Raphael's decoration in the Loggie of the Vatican.

The nations who first excelled in architecture were those who loved their soil perhaps even more than their people. The Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans were eminently of this class, while the Germanic peoples were happy wherever their friends surrounded them. Intense love of soil leads to the passion for adorning it, as men desire to bring tribute of adornment to the women whom they love; and when the gifts are accepted and worn, men have a sense of personal accept-

ance as well, and a dawning sense of possession of the beloved one. Grimm well expresses this thought when he says: "And the temples of the Acropolis and the Capitol were, as it were, jewels which the people set in the golden soil of their home, crowns and golden chains which they placed upon it."

As the adjuncts of architecture, sculpture and painting have made their greatest achievements as pure or abstract arts. The temples afforded the opportunity for their display in their highest forms, and the decline of these arts begins when the artist must endeavour to meet the wishes of his employer. Michael Angelo had the misfortune to undertake his great works just when this decline began; when it was possible for Pope Julius II. to threaten to throw the artist off the scaffolding in the Sistine Chapel.

Architecture is far less individual than other arts. In its grand achievements it emphasises the political power of a people or the religious power of a faith. In the sixteenth century Catholicism was renewed in strength, the apostasy of the Germans having called up the extremest loyalty of the entire Catholic Church; and Michael Angelo devoted himself to making S. Peter's what has been well called "a religious fortification," an ecclesiastical stronghold, the Mother Church of the faithful of the world.

Michael Angelo had gained reputation as an architect in Florence, where he had erected the façade, the sacristy, and the library of S. Lorenzo, before he was made architect of S. Peter's. But these gave him no opportunity to conceive the colossal in a truly masterly manner, as did his office at S. Peter's. Other architects brought together numbers of small towers or other lesser features, which, thus assembled, produced the effect of a great mass; but they were separable, while truly great architecture must be the production of a single conception, great in itself. In this way, as a whole, Michael Angelo conceived and made his plan for S.

Peter's. He boldly declared that he would suspend the dome of the Pantheon in air above Saint Peter's grave.

As the great artist refused a salary, declaring that he would work but for God and Saint Peter, he held an advantage over his enemies, and was able to ignore the many intrigues by which they attempted to injure him. He was also better able to treat peculations by his subordinates with severity and thus put a new element of honesty into the work on this basilica.

Although nearly forty years had passed after Bramante laid the foundation-stone, and although so many and such different artists had done their share in this great work, it was not so far advanced but that Michael Angelo could give it any form he chose. A vast amount of substructure work had been done. The four pillars were erected and connected by the magnificent arches, — such pillars and arches as have not been excelled. But as, from this slight and imperfect beginning, the plans of Michael Angelo, with but small exceptions, were followed, he may be regarded as the real founder of the present S. Peter's.

The dome is strictly his work. In one respect, which is much to be lamented, his plan was changed, and the form of the Latin cross adopted, when he intended to follow Bramante's plan and use that of the Greek cross. By this change the dome is rendered ineffective as one approaches the church. The long, projecting nave and the elaborate façade were not contemplated by either Bramante or Michael Angelo. The façade of the latter was simple, but grand in effect, it being a pure Corinthian portico. Had the Greek form been retained, and this front erected, the entire dome would have been visible from the Piazza.

When Michael Angelo began his actual work, his first care was to strengthen the four pillars so that they might support his dome. He then proceeded to erect the drum, on which the dome is raised. This drum was not finished according

to his design, although, with its surrounding columns and the windows between them, it is a masterpiece in architecture, and as light and symmetrical as could be desired. Michael Angelo, however, intended to have the columns which stand free from the walls of the drum in pairs, finished with pedestals and surmounted with statues, which were "to surround the dome like tapers."

Paul III. died in 1549, and was succeeded by Julius III., who, in spite of the intrigues against Michael Angelo, confirmed him as architect of S. Peter's without limit to his authority. This greatly displeased the old, or Sangallo's party, as under that architect many had made money. Michael Angelo was so determined, first, that no one should make money, and second, that no material which he did not approve should be accepted, that the sub-contractors greatly desired his removal.

On one occasion, when some cement was furnished which he thought of an inferior quality, he wrote a scathing letter to the cardinals in charge of the work, in which he expressed his suspicions of those who were endeavouring to make money out of the building. He declared that he would not use unsuitable material, saying, "Even were it to come down from heaven, it shall not be done."

At another time Julius III. reported to Michael Angelo that certain defects in his work had been brought to his notice. The artist demanded that the complaints be made in his presence; and when Cardinal Marcello appeared before the Pope and the master, the latter explained that his completed work would overcome the objections. The cardinal, satisfied with what he heard, expressed surprise that he had not been informed of this sooner. Michael Angelo answered: "I am not, nor will I consent to be obliged to tell, to your Eminence or any one else, what I ought or wish to do. Your office is to bring money and guard it from thieves, and the designing of the building is left to me."

Then to the Pope he said, "Holy Father, you see what I gain: if these fatigues which I endure do not benefit my soul, I lose both time and labour."

The Pope loved the great artist, and, laying his hands on Michael Angelo's shoulders, he answered, "Your eternal and temporal welfare shall not suffer from it. There is no fear of that;" and so long as Julius III. lived, Michael Angelo was not again disturbed.

Julius III. died in 1555; and after the brief reign of Marcellus II., Cardinal Caraffa became Pope, and took the name of Paul IV. Meantime Michael Angelo, although he made a journey and executed other works, had his mind fixed upon the dome of S. Peter's, and carefully constructed a wooden model of his design, which is seventeen feet high, and so made that it could be followed in every detail by his successors. He was asked if this dome would surpass that of S. M. del Fiore in Florence, to which he replied, "It will be more grand, but not more beautiful."

By still another Pope, Pius IV., was the brave old man confirmed as autocrat over the building of S. Peter's, and he continued, though a sufferer from a fatal disease, to apply himself to this great trust, and to execute a few other works, until, in February, 1564, his strength gave way; and, on the eighteenth of that month, surrounded by his friends and faithful physicians, he ceased to breathe, but not to live; for does he not to-day survive in a sense beside which physical death loses its meaning?

In spite of all the precautions which he had taken, the successors of the great master seriously lessened the grandeur of his plans. After his death Vignola and Pierre Ligorio were appointed to carry on the building, and were strictly enjoined by the Pope to adhere strictly to Michael Angelo's plans. These artists did not live to complete the dome, which was accomplished in the pontificate of Sixtus V., by Giacomo della Porta, in the spring of 1560.

So impatient of delay had the Pope become that the work was pushed day and night by eight hundred workmen. Everything, even decency, was sacrificed to haste, for, being in need of an additional trough for water, the masons tossed the bones of Pope Urban VI. aside, and took his sarcophagus to fill their need, and this coffin was used as a tank for about twenty years. The ball and cross were not placed on the summit of the dome until 1593.

So long as Della Porta lived, — 1601, — the plans of Michael Angelo were essentially followed, although even in the dome a serious omission had been made. The model has a triple dome, and it was intended that the inner one should duplicate the dome of the Pantheon; the second should support the lantern, while the outer one should give majesty to the exterior of the church. But the inner dome was entirely omitted, the two outer were constructed of brick and bound with chains at weak points, while the statues which were to encircle it were never made.

After the death of Della Porta, Carlo Maderno, being architect under Paul V., changed from the plans of Bramante and Michael Angelo, and ruined the effect by the long nave and unsuitable façade of which we have spoken. Not until the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the original consecration of S. Peter's, by Saint Sylvester, was the present edifice consecrated by Pope Urban VIII. in 1626.

Bernini began the decoration of the Piazza of S. Peter's in 1667, and Pope Pius VI. erected the sacristy and made some minor additions in the late years of the eighteenth century; so that from the beginning of the foundations to the time when S. Peter's could be said to be complete, three and a half centuries had elapsed, forty-three popes had reigned, sixteen architects that I can name had been employed, and I doubt not there were others. The cost of this church could scarcely be estimated; and so great had the financial burden proved that at two periods, in the time of

Julius II. and Leo X., the sale of indulgences was instituted to support it. At the end of the seventeenth century its cost was estimated at about fifty million dollars, which does not include the sacristy, the bell-towers, mosaics, etc. The last important work was done by Pius IX. on the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Michael Angelo, when the dome and lantern were thoroughly repaired and newly covered at a cost of about sixty thousand dollars.

Other architectural works attributed to Michael Angelo in Rome are the Porta Pia, begun by Pius IV. in 1564 after the plans of the master, but not completed until 1869, so that it is not possible to know how faithfully the plan was executed; the Sforza Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, which Della Porta completed; and he is said to have been the chief architect of the church of S. Mary of the Angels in the Baths of Diocletian. The Piazza del Campidoglio is made after the design of Michael Angelo, as well as the façades of the palaces on three sides of the Piazza, although it was not completed until after his death. He also designed the cornice of the Palazzo Farnese, built its upper story, and made the plan of its court. He made a design for a bridge over the Tiber and the necessary road by which the Farnese Palace and the Villa Farnesina could be united; but these, like other undertakings for which he made the plans, were not executed.

TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER XVI.

ROMAN SCULPTURE.

THE argument over Etruscan and Greek influence on the Roman arts need not be referred to here, as it is far more to the point to know what the Romans did than to speculate upon matters concerning which authorities disagree and no one can positively decide. I have spoken of the representation of Janus, which is indisputably Roman, and excels in originality any Etruscan work that I have seen, or of which I have heard. Pliny described a prehistoric bronze statue of this god, which proves that the Latins worked in bronze at a very early date.

The Roman design of the she-wolf suckling the twins, Romulus and Remus, first appeared on silver coins, made for Campania by the Romans. The establishment of the Romans in Cales and near Capua, in 334 B. C., brought them to a knowledge of the art of Campania; and the little terra-cotta altars recently found on the Esquiline are like the offerings to the Campanian temples. In Cales a peculiar figured earthenware was made at a very early period.

We may well believe that there were Greek artists working in Rome at an early date, as Pliny quotes from Varro an account of the temple of Ceres as being decorated by the Greeks Damophilus and Gorgasus with both sculptures and paintings as early as 450 B. C. This temple was dedicated in 493 B. C., and if already adorned, as there is reason to believe, the knowledge and practice of Greek art must have existed in Rome at least a half-century before the completion of the Parthenon.

Probably the sarcophagus of Lucius Scipio, consul in 298 B. C., is the only remaining Roman sculpture in stone of a very early date; its simple, noble, Doric style is greatly preferable to Etruscan sculpture of the same period. The

SCULPTOR.

beauty of many of the small bronzes and other objects found in Etruscan tombs is certainly great, but the she-wolf erected at the Ruminal fig-tree in the Forum Romanum in 296 B. C. — now a splendid and interesting object in the Capitoline Museum — vastly excels the Etruscan helmets, candelabra, etc., which are the principal treasures of Etruscan tombs.

The colossal bronze figure of Jupiter, made from the spoils taken from the Samnites, in 293 B. C., proves that the Roman bronze-casters were then prepared to execute vast works. This statue, standing on the Capitoline Hill, could be seen from the Alban Mount; and it is recorded that the chisellings from it were sufficient to cast a second statue of life-size. In the quality of their metal work, too, the Latins excelled the Etruscans, as is seen in the Ficoroni casket, made in Rome from a design by an artist of Prænestе. Critics agree that probably no other antique graving is so finished in its execution and so chaste in design as this celebrated casket.

Doubtless in other parts of Latium, as in Prænestе, Lanuvium, and Ardea, art reached an earlier excellence than at the capital, but in the late decades of the third and in the second century before the Christian era, there was great artistic activity in Rome itself. This was a memorable period, the first in which we can speak of an united Italy; and this fact aroused all the powers of the Roman people, and stimulated to achievements in all directions. It was now that the construction of great works of utility was carried forward in the marvellous way of which I have spoken; and it has been well said that as the vigour of the Latins subdued the weaker peoples, it impressed itself also on marble and bronze.

But active as were the Romans in their grand works for the comfort and luxury of the people, in the more refined arts there were almost no attempts to improve. The artistic taste of such Romans as had seen the splendid temples of Corinth and Athens had, however, been sufficiently cultivated for them to scorn the terra-cotta statues upon the roofs of the temples at home. Lucius Paulus, for example, sympathised with the conservative views of Cato, but he admired the Zeus of Phidias with the appreciation of an educated art-critic.

The artistic ambition of the Romans to produce fine sculptures themselves no doubt received a fatal blow when, after the conquest of Syracuse, in 212 B. C., the custom of robbing the conquered cities of their statues, for the benefit of Rome, was introduced. This robbery was disapproved by some conservative Romans; and the conqueror of Tarentum would not permit his soldiers to disturb the "indignant gods" of the Tarentines. But others, who had no such scruples, carried from Greece to Rome such numbers of sculptures that the public edifices were filled with magnificent products of the Greek statuaries.

Perhaps the mere sight of so many and such noble sculptures so oppressed and discouraged the Roman artists as to lead to the abandonment of such attempts as they had previously made. Then, too, as if the completed works were not enough, Greeks skilled in each department of art flocked to Rome, and all important attempts to develop native talent were relinquished. At the same time a far more general interest in seeing works of art arose, and Roman connoisseurs in art were constantly multiplied.

Each decade brought increasing elegance in artistic decorations and a more universal desire for their possession; but the display of numberless treasures of Hellenic art failed to arouse the ambition of the Romans, and they made no attempts to produce like objects. In truth, no one Roman worthy of mention pursued the plastic arts.

Collecting rare and beautiful objects became a mania with the wealthy Romans. In the last half-century before the Christian era, the more important works of sculpture and painting were less sought than rich furniture, carpets, and all sorts of ornaments for the table and apartments. The tombs of Corinth and Capua were robbed of the vessels of bronze and earthenware, which had been buried with the dead, and an artistically wrought bronze cooking-machine was greatly prized. Two thousand dollars were readily paid

for a small bronze statuette, and four times that amount for a pair of fine rugs. The poverty of Asia Minor, Syracuse, Pergamus, Chios, Samos, Athens, etc., flooded the Roman market with rare and beautiful objects, while many noble Romans obtained splendid examples of art and luxurious furnishings by less direct means than by purchase.

The houses which were especially rich in such artistic fittings were visited by great numbers of people, just as they now flock to some of the famous palaces in Rome, and to the Villa Borghese. The splendid spoils of war were also frequently placed where all Romans could study them, as when Marcellus, in 212 B. C., carried the treasures he had brought from Syracuse in his triumphal procession, and later adorned the Temple of Honour and Valour with them.

When Flaminius defeated Philip of Macedon, two days were spent in gathering up the spoils. After Fulvius Nobilior overcame the Ætolians, he subjected Greek artists, whom he brought to Rome, to the humiliating task of arranging his festivities, and exhibited five hundred and fifteen marble and bronze sculptures which he had taken from the conquered people. Æmilius Paulus, after his defeat of Perseus of Macedon, required two hundred and fifty waggons to contain the pictures and statues only, which he displayed in his triumphal procession; among these was a statue of Athena by the great Phidias. Other victorious generals continued to fill Rome with the rich spoils of Greece; but the Romans soon showed a decided preference for the sculptures of the later Athenian school, and as the most popular Roman gods were now Mars, Bacchus, and Venus, the statues of these deities were greatly prized.

The display of these artistic spoils was a liberal education in art to the entire Roman people, and doubtless had great influence in preparing the way for the refinement of the Augustan Age; for not only did the wealthy fill their houses with pictures and statues, but all classes began to regard

VENUS OF CAPUA.

some artistic possessions as necessary to the proper enjoyment of life. Such were the conditions under the Republic.

When the Empire was established and there were no more important conquests to furnish art to Rome, the Emperors — notably Caligula and Nero — did not hesitate to act the part of robbers in times of peace. Caligula, in 31 A. D., sent an agent to Greece with orders to bring the best works of art to Rome to adorn his villas; and Nero went so far as to order his agents to bring the images of the deities of the most sacred temples, as well as the offerings that had been made to them, to adorn his Golden House. He is said to have obtained five hundred bronze statues from Delphi alone.

It may very properly be said that the Romans brought about a revival of Greek art, and for them Greek artists executed many beautiful works. A large proportion of the sculptures which are now the pride of European collections were thus produced. It is true that the designs were rarely original, but the works were reproductions of those of the greatest masters who ever lived. The copyists were of the same nation as the masters, and some of them imparted their own individuality even to their copies.

A long list of the names of Greek artists who worked in Rome could be given, but so little is known of their lives that it is more satisfactory to consider the magnificent works of antiquity which now delight the world. Before speaking of the treasures that have been unearthed since the dawn of the Renaissance, and of the work of the archæologists of later years, I will mention a few most valuable sculptures that have never been lost.

Among these are the Bronze Wolf in the Palazzo dei Conservatori; the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, in the Piazza del Campidoglio; and the colossal Head of Domitian in the courtyard of the Conservatori. From the fall of the Empire these bronzes have been preserved in or near the Pope's Palace, the Lateran, until they were removed to the Capitol.

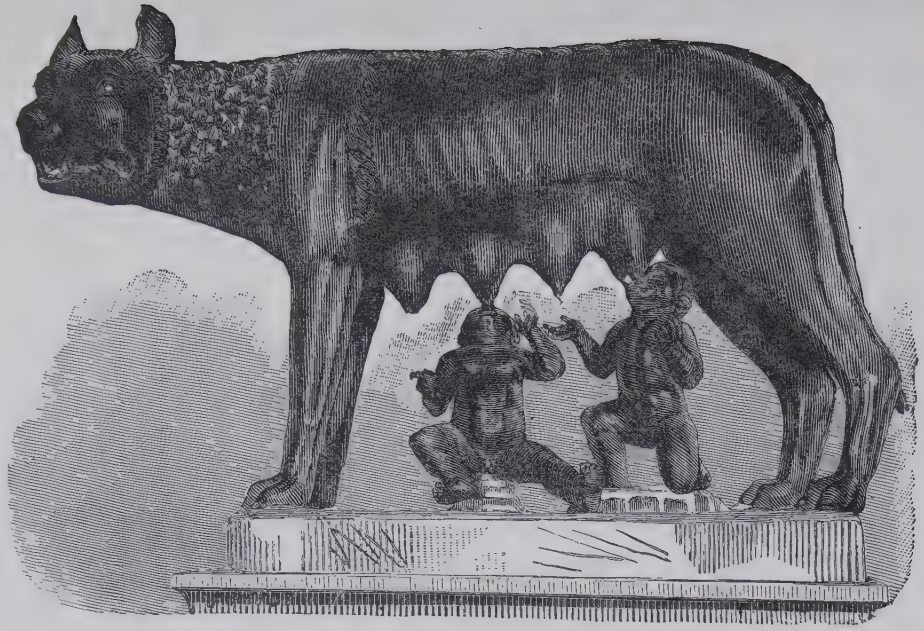
There are records concerning the Marcus Aurelius from the tenth century; positive evidence relating to the Wolf dates from the early part of the ninth century; and there are records of trials and executions "at the Wolf," down to 1450, one of which states that the hands cut from two highwaymen were hung at the Wolf.

Commendatore Lanciani speaks of the small collection of ancient bronzes now in Rome, which by no means equals that of Naples. This is all the more to be regretted since there are records proving that in the middle of the sixth century there existed in Rome eighty statues of gods made in gilt bronze, twenty-five bronze statues said to have been brought from Jerusalem by Vespasian, and thirty-seven hundred and eighty-five bronze statues of various subjects, making in all thirty-eight hundred and ninety works in bronze, publicly exhibited in Rome.

Besides those that I have mentioned at the Capitol, there are the Boy extracting a Thorn from his Foot, the Camillus, or Sacrificing Youth, — representing a young patrician assisting at the sacrifices, — and the bronze gilt Hercules, found in the Forum Boarium, all in the Hall of the Bronzes.

There are but few antique bronzes belonging to the Vatican, and of these but two are important, — the Hercules, discovered in 1864, and the immense bronze cone in the *Giardino della Pigna*. This cone, eleven feet high, has often been said to have once surmounted the Mausoleum of Hadrian, which is an error. It has served the purpose for which it was evidently made, — a fountain, the water flowing through numberless holes in the spikes. It is believed that it was originally at Agrippa's artificial lake in the Campus Martius, from which Pope Symmachus, about the beginning of the sixth century, removed it to the "Paradise," or Piazza of S. Peter's.

It was thus described in 1190: "In the Paradise of S. Peter's there is a basin built by Pope Symmachus, surrounded



SHE-WOLF OF THE CAPITOL.

by columns of porphyry which support a dome of gilt metal; of gilt metal also are the dolphins and the flowers, from the mouths and the petals of which the water flows. In the centre of the piece stands the Pine-cone." In recent years an inscription has been discovered, engraved around the lower edge of the cone, which reads, "This is the work of Publius Cincius Calvius, freedman of Publius Cincius."

The colossal Mastai Hercules of the Vatican, which was so effectually hidden until a little more than three decades ago, must have been esteemed a treasure. It was not only carefully concealed, but was actually encased in a coffin of solid masonry, over which there was a thin covering of marble. This Hercules is not especially fine as a work of art, but is most interesting on account of its having been an oracular statue. It was found under the foundations of Pompey's Theatre. It is supposed to have belonged to a temple of Hercules near the Circus Flaminius; and it is well known that this god was oracular, from ancient writers who describe the temples erected to him where *responsa* were sought and received. In the back of the head of this colossal statue is a hole sufficiently large to permit a full-grown youth to pass, as was proved by an experiment after its discovery, which was made in the presence of several eminent men. The voice of the young Pietro Roega, who was inside the statue, had a most impressive, almost a supernatural sound.

The manner in which such vast numbers of works of art were destroyed in Rome, from the fall of the Empire to the dawn of the Renaissance, and the causes of this terrible vandalism, are well set forth by authors like Gibbon, Dyer, and Fea, but cannot be treated here, for want of space. It is, however, but justice to the Barbarians to say that all the horrors were not perpetrated by them. After the pagan religion ceased to be that of the state, the emperors did not hesitate to rob the pagan temples of their works of art; and after Constantine had struck the heads off both bronze and

marble statues, in order to put new portrait heads upon these old treasures, how can others be blamed for any destruction that pleased them, or for melting the metals which had a market value, and powdering the marbles for the lime they needed?

We may excuse the Romans for stripping the statues of their gilding when obliged to make up five thousand pounds' weight of gold to pay their ransom to Alaric; and although this purchased but two years of peace from this great warrior, he would have ravaged the capital as he did later, had they not paid it. The accounts of the plunders by the Barbarian hordes — now for three days, and again for fourteen days — are such that we can but wonder that anything escaped being carried away or wantonly destroyed.

Perhaps the most culpable robber of all was the Emperor Constans II., who carried off, in 663 A. D., all that previous vandals had left; and it is due to the fact that the works of art that remain had been, to a great extent, carefully hidden that even so small a number are still preserved in Rome.

It has been customary to attribute the revival, or renaissance, of archæological studies in Rome to Dante and Petrarch; but Commendatore Lanciani, in his "Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries," shows satisfactorily that these great poets should not be thus honoured. This eminent authority calls Cola di Rienzo, the famous tribune of the fourteenth century, the founder of the modern school of archæology, and to him also attributes the honour of the revival of classical studies. In truth, both Dante and Petrarch showed much less knowledge of classical art and letters than they have been credited with, — which fact, as Lanciani points out, cannot lessen our admiration for them; on the contrary, it increases our estimate of their original genius.

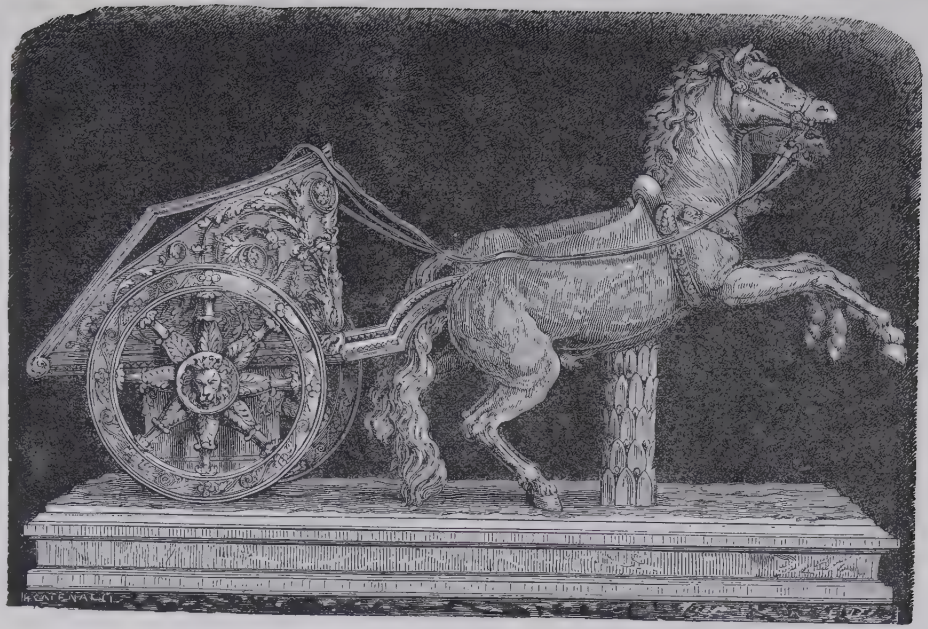
Cola di Rienzo, according to his biographer, became, when still a mere boy, an admirer of classical writings, more especially of Livy, Sallust, and Valerius Maximus; and he

early acquired great skill in deciphering the inscriptions on the Roman ruins. Perhaps this praise is more than was merited, as all his deciphering has not proved to be correct; as, for instance, when he mistook the word *pomœrium*, referring to the city bounds, for *pomarium*, an apple-orchard. In spite of errors of this nature, however, Cola undoubtedly made the first collection of Latin epitaphs, arranged in accord with the principles of modern science.

Several copies of this list have been known for some time, but the discovery of the original book in an abbey library in Catania has fixed the honour of having made it upon the fierce political agitator. He was almost, if not the only man who could have read the inscriptions in his day, the materials having been collected between 1344 and 1347.

But the true Renaissance of Archæology belongs to the fifteenth century, — that period which Commendatore Lanciani calls "the beginning of the most glorious period in the history of my own nation." The Middle Ages were ended; the Popes had returned from Avignon to occupy S. Peter's throne. The Humanists now exerted their powerful influence, and Hellenism in every possible phase made the absorbing interest of all men of intellect. So greatly did the ancient genius appeal to every intelligent class of the Roman world that this period has been aptly termed the "Golden Age of Hellenism."

For various causes — both religious and political — this movement was of brief duration. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Roman men and women of the cultured classes could converse in Greek; fifty years later this language was read but not spoken, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century was almost forgotten. During the prevalence of the craze for classical studies, archæology was placed on an exalted pinnacle; devotion was shown to its study in all its phases, and to pierce the veil of the past was the cherished desire and aim of thousands of Romans.



THE BIGA OF THE VATICAN.

However, this vast interest in Hellenism did not commend itself to the Church, and some of the most prominent Humanists were imprisoned and tried. Sufficient testimony to convict them of what was considered as far too strong a leaning towards paganism, if not paganism itself, was not obtained. Who can tell what their fate would have been if documents which have come to light in the present half-century — in the Catacombs of Callixtus, of SS. Pietro, e Marcellino, and of Prætextatus — had been in the hands of their judges?

In spite of the opposition of the Church to the Humanists and to Hellenism, Christian art, so-called, took on some curiously pagan characteristics. Angels were represented as classic youths with wings; the holy women of Christendom were sometimes of a positively immodest appearance as they were pictured in Christian churches, — in fact, it was essentially a revival of classic art that was taking place. At a later day Bernini was called upon to clothe in painted lead the statue of Giula Farnese, near the Chair of S. Peter in the Vatican, the acknowledged masterpiece of Guglielmo della Porta.

Although the Humanists were brought to trial during the reign of Pope Paul II., 1464–1471, he proved himself to be a true lover of classical art. He restored several ancient monuments, among which were the arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, as well as the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. He had undertaken the removal of Caligula's obelisk and its erection in the Piazza of S. Peter's, which was interrupted by his death. His sympathies were not limited to matters of art alone, for he contributed to the introduction of printing and gave money to certain archæologists.

This Pope made collections of various sorts. He was a disputatious rival of the Medici in all markets where precious gems, coins, jewelry, and splendid stuffs could be purchased; indeed, the spirit of the collector became almost a mania with him; he did not scruple to obtain sacred images, — even

those that were regarded as having miraculous power, if they were valuable from the artistic point of view. He offered to build a bridge across the Garonne at Toulouse for a single cameo, and seemed not to consider any price too large for what pleased him.

Especially was this true regarding anything that he could use for his personal adornment. So vain was he of his acknowledged beauty that when elected Pope he assumed the name of "Formosus," the handsome, which so scandalised the Sacred College that he was forced to change to the more appropriate name by which he was known. He paid more than a million dollars for a tiara, and justified the extravagance by saying that his uncle, Pope Eugenius IV., had also spent a large sum for the same purpose.

The museum of Paul II. was enormously rich, and it is worth while to mention a portion of its treasures. The fate of his collections is unknown, and is one of the puzzles of our time. He had a vast quantity of splendid plate, among which two wine-jugs are especially worthy of notice; they weighed one hundred and ten pounds each, and were magnificently wrought. His pearls and precious stones, many of which were exquisitely mounted in rings and signets, were absolutely numbered by thousands. His coins, cameos, and intaglios were not only numerous, but rare, costly, and artistically beautiful. He had ten Byzantine cameos, more than royal museums of the present time can hope to possess; while his collection of Byzantine mosaic pictures, numbering twenty-five, was larger than could now be made were those of all the collections of Europe brought together. These objects made the most unusual and valuable portion of his treasures, but he also had a vast quantity of works in ivory, and magnificent stuffs and embroideries, as well as many unique specimens of numerous other artistic objects.

It is, however, more satisfactory to speak of what exists than of what is lost; and Rome is still a treasure-house, in

spite of the enormous amount of artistic productions of which it has been robbed. The Apollo Belvedere, in the

EROS.

Vatican, is an unusually interesting statue, partly because so little is known of it. It has been decided in recent years

to be in Carrara marble, and a Roman copy of a Greek original. It was found at Antium about the end of the fifteenth century, and was purchased by Julius II. when still a cardinal. There has been a difference of opinion among good authorities as to the intention of the statue, — as to what he is doing. No description of it by any ancient writer is known, and a fine opportunity is afforded for the exercise of great ingenuity in argument concerning it.

Another fine statue in the Vatican of which we know more details is the Apoxyomenos; it is a marble copy from the bronze original, which stood in front of the Baths of Agrippa. It is well preserved, and was found in 1849 in the Trastevere, together with a bronze horse, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which is a genuine Greek masterpiece of antiquity; a bronze foot which may have belonged to the rider of the horse, and a bronze bull, with other unimportant fragments, were found at the same time.

This must have been a collection of objects robbed from different edifices in Rome and left where they were found, near the Tiber, preparatory to shipping them away. When they were thus hidden, or by whom, cannot be known. Canina proved that the horse was one of those modelled and cast by Lysippus, representing the horsemen of Alexander the Great, killed at the battle of Granicus. The equestrian statues were brought to Rome by Metellus Macedonicus and dedicated in his portico.

The Apoxyomenos, as its name indicates, represents a youth scraping himself with a strigil after a contest in the arena. When the original stood before the Baths of Agrippa, the people so loved it that they would not permit Tiberius to remove it, as I have mentioned. This statue is an example of a grand *genre* style. It represents a scene from common life in Greece, but it is so simply natural, so graceful and free from restraint, that one could not weary of it. The face expresses quiet content; his task has been faithfully

performed, and he remembers it with satisfaction. Like all the works of Lysippus, it has the hair finelly chiselled.

But the pose of this figure is its chief charm. Naturally, in scraping one part of the body after the other, the position is constantly changed; and this one, which he can maintain but a moment, while it is itself full of grace, seems to have in it also the motion which he must make at once. While Lysippus was not the equal of Phidias, who habitually endeavoured to represent the very loftiest mortal conception of a god, there was nothing mean or commonplace in the works of the former; on the contrary, his naturalism was of a healthy sort, and he represented youthful, manly beauty, in a pure, noble, and dignified spirit.

Probably no piece of *genre* sculpture is more universally admired than the *Spinario*, or Thorn Extractor of the Capitol; this is more in accordance with the usual subjects in this department of art, of which the Apoxyomenos is an unusually heroic example. This boy, picking a thorn from his foot, is natural and graceful, and so simple in style as apparently to belong to the best period of ancient sculpture; in truth, some details, notably the hair, are archaic in treatment, and many critics have found this work superior to those of the Alexandrian Age.

From time to time in recent years the "finds" in Rome have been valuable and interesting, as when, in 1879, Madame Ristori discovered some remarkable bronzes, hidden beneath the foundations of her palace, and two years later, when the foundations for the English chapel were being laid, a collection of imperial busts in bronze were found, where they had long been concealed.

In the spring of 1885, there were three great treasures discovered in Rome, in which Commendatore Lanciani was personally interested. His account of the circumstances attending these events is most interesting. Of this I can give but a synopsis, the whole story being too long to be inserted here.

In 1884, a spot of land was granted to the "National Dramatic Society" for the erection of a theatre, one of the conditions being that all objects discovered in the necessary excavations should belong to the State. The site chosen was on the western slope of the Quirinal, which had been occupied in ancient times by the Temple of the Sun, built in 273 A. D. by Aurelian; by a shrine to an archaic Sabine god; and by a portico built in the reign of Constantine, called the *Porticus Constantini;* all of which was well known to archæologists. In addition to these, a beautiful private house was found, the existence of which had not been previously suspected.

The house was built on such a slope that its apartments rose one above the other; and while it was decorated with lovely frescoes and provided with mosaic and marble floors and marble staircases, there was everywhere such an appearance of confusion as indicated its abandonment on account of an earthquake or some sudden catastrophe. Numerous works of art were buried beneath the ruins, and were of such execution and taste as would warrant their being attributed to the very best epoch of Græco-Roman art. The latest coin found here was of the reign of Commodus, and it is judged that the destruction occurred about the beginning of the third century of our era. The stamp upon the water-pipes revealed the name of the owner of this lovely house and all its treasures, as that of a freedman, named Cnæus Sergius Crater, an obscure person of wealth.

Above this house towered the immense foundations of the Temple of the Sun. Aurelian raised this temple on the perpendicular cliff of the Quirinal, facing the Campus Martius, intending thus to commemorate his conquest of Palmyra and the capture of Zenobia, its queen, while he at the same time provided an easy ascent from the Campus Martius to the summit of the Quirinal. To this last end he built two gigantic staircases, from which, by a decree of the Senate

and People of Rome, in 1348, — the year of the plague, — marble was taken to make the one hundred and twenty-four steps to the church of the Ara Cœli. The cost, five thousand

DANCER ON A BRONZE LAMP.

florins, was given by voluntary contributions, and was a votive offering to the Madonna.

The Temple of the Sun was intended by the Emperor to eclipse the sanctuaries of this god at Palmyra and Baalbek; and from its massive foundation to its termination, each member was as nearly colossal as its use would permit, and many of them might well be termed Cyclopean. The fountain on the Janiculum, near the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, is cut from the base of a column from this temple.

Vopiscus, the biographer of Aurelian, relates that the spacious vaults under the portico of this temple were prudently utilised as wine-vaults. To show how persistently history repeats itself I may be permitted to mention that the exemplary people of a large New England town have recently been greatly scandalised by the discovery that the cellars of a venerable church have been used for the storage of beer.

This temple was early destroyed, with the exception of its southwest corner, which was known as the Torre di Mesa, — and also as the Frontispizio di Nerone, — and was an important landmark in Rome, until that too was levelled under Pope Sixtus V. in 1595. Under the ilexes on the upper terrace of the Colonna gardens, are three blocks from this temple, the only vestiges that have been permitted to survive the wreck of time and men. One made a part of a beautiful frieze; another was the capital of a pilaster; the third made the corner of an entablature, and is the largest block of marble in Rome. It weighs more than a hundred tons and measures fourteen hundred and ninety cubic feet.

After the house of Sergius had been cleared away and other impediments removed, the foundations of the platform were reached, in course of the preparations for the erection of the National Theatre. The walls crossed each other, and the spaces between had evidently not been used as vaults, but were filled in with clay and loose earth. In one of these spaces, in February, 1885, a workman came upon the arm of a bronze statue, which was lying on its back, seventeen feet below the level of the temple platform.

This proved to be the statue of an athlete, seven feet and four inches in height, and well proportioned. It appears to be a portrait-statue, or if intended to represent a class, or an ideal, it was undoubtedly modelled from nature. There have been various theories advanced, such as its being the statue of one of the Macedonian kings, etc., but there is

little to support such views. The statue stands on the left leg, the right hand rests on the back of the hip, as in the Farnese Hercules and the Meleager of the Vatican. The left arm is high above the head, and the hand grasps a rod or lance.

On the breast, in letters that were undoubtedly made long after the casting of the statue, is the inscription, L· VIS· L· XXIIX, of which mysterious signs no one has been able to find a reasonable solution. Naturally, this discovery excited great interest in Rome, and anticipations of still other "finds" were proved to be well founded, when, about a month later, another ancient bronze was brought to light.

On this occasion the archæologists were present when the statue was disinterred, whereas, in the first instance the athlete had been taken out of its grave before these gentlemen arrived. In the second case great care had been taken in concealing the statue, the space in which it was found having been filled with sifted earth, in order not to scratch the surface of the bronze. It was in a sitting posture, and carefully placed on an impromptu stool, which was a stone capital of a Doric column. An opening had evidently been made through the lower foundations of the Temple of the Sun, in order thus to bury this figure. Commendatore Lanciani says: —

"I have witnessed, in my long career in the active field of archæology, many discoveries; I have experienced surprise after surprise; I have sometimes and most unexpectedly met with real masterpieces; but I have never felt such an extraordinary impression as the one created by the sight of this magnificent specimen of a semi-barbaric athlete, coming slowly out of the ground, as if awakening from a long repose after his gallant fights."

As the statue was at length fully revealed, it was seen that the elbows rested on the knees, the head was turned to the right and raised, the mouth was open, the nose swollen,

and the ears the worse for the struggle which this boxer had endured. His gloves are on his hands and fur-lined; while the outside, made of several thicknesses of leather and furnished with brass knuckles, are really formidable weapons. If his opponents wore the same, it is not strange that his neck, shoulders, and other parts of his person are seamed with scars.

When this statue was first examined by competent judges, it was believed to be an example of Græco-Roman art; but since then it has been thought to be purely Greek, to which opinion the discovery of an A. large, a Greek Alpha, cast with the bronze, under the middle toe of the left foot, seems to give support. It is also an early Greek character of equal width and height, which favours the opinion that it was cast in Greece.

The Baths of Constantine were very near the Temple of the Sun; and it is probable that these two bronzes were a portion of their decoration, as they are of such subjects as were much used in Roman baths. It is a matter of regret that a thorough search beneath this temple would be difficult, costly, and even dangerous, by reason of the modern buildings under which it would be necessary to excavate; but there is little doubt in the minds of those who ought to know, that there are many other fine works of art buried there.

In the same year, 1885, when the Ponte Garibaldi alla Regola was building, a third bronze statue was discovered in that apparently inexhaustible treasure-keeper, the bed of the Tiber. The statue was head downward, sixteen feet below the bed of the river, and twenty-six below the surface of the stream.

It proved to be a youthful and rather feminine Bacchus, with hair in long curls, which are parted in the middle and held in place by an ivy wreath which is delicately inlaid with silver. The lips are lined with copper, while the eyes are made of a soft stone, yellowish in colour, and called palom-

bino. Compared with the two foregoing bronzes, it is stiff and tame. It is thought, from its conventionality, to be a

THE EMPRESS JULIA PIA DOMNA.

Rotonde, Vatican

Græco-Roman work of the first century of the Christian era. There is an impress of a coin on the calf of the left leg, which learned numismatists judge to have been an imperial

gold coin of about Nero's time. The lower portion of this statue has evidently suffered from fire, but no surmise can be made as to its former position, nor is there any clew to when or by whom it was thrown into the Tiber.

All these bronzes are in the Museum in the Baths at Diocletian, and there is some disagreement among competent judges as to their merits. The first seems to me a beautiful work, — probably of the school of Lysippus; the eyes were hollowed out, doubtless to receive coloured enamels, and its resemblance in pose to the well-known Meleager of the Vatican Belvedere constantly occurs to one.

For the Boxer I do not care, except as one cares for all such antiquities, which are so important in the study of the history of art. It is certainly rather brutal, and far from agreeable in the expression of the face. It is more like a Roman production than a Greek work of art.

The portrait-sculpture of Rome is delightful, and almost inexhaustible. The Romans were very much devoted to this use of the art, as from their earliest days the likenesses of the dead were much valued and of importance in the ancestor-worship. The earliest form, the masks, — made in wax from the faces of the dead, and worn in the funeral procession by some person clothed with the garments of the departed, — must have been very realistic portraits, and realism was a prominent feature in all Roman portrait-sculpture. This is very pronounced when compared with the more ideal representation of the Greeks, who appear to have made as much of a point of idealising a face or form as the Romans made of an exact likeness. In this the Romans doubtless committed many an injustice; since making a man exactly what he looks to be often presents him as less than he really is, and gives no hint of the changing expression that comes with emotion and conversation, and often illuminates the plainest faces with rare beauty. But we cannot doubt that by means of these statues and busts

we absolutely know how many of the great men and women looked, who hold their places in the regard of the world through all the centuries by reason of the parts they bore in the events which make up the history of the past.

Portrait-sculpture was not known to the Greeks in the years of their earliest art; but when once it was introduced it was much affected, and in the time of Alexander such statues and busts were almost innumerable. They were generously used for the decoration of libraries and public buildings, as well as for public squares and other open-air resorts.

I know of no Greek portrait-statue in Rome superior to that of Sophocles in the Lateran Museum, which was found in 1838 at Terracina and was presented to Pope Gregory XVI. by Cardinal Antonelli. It is valuable as a representation of Sophocles, but even more so for its presentation of a true product of the highest and best of Athenian civilisation and culture; of a refined, aristocratic Greek, trained in such exercises as developed his physique, as well as in science, philosophy, and music, — in various serious studies and lighter accomplishments, all together producing a man profound and scholarly, and at the same time elegant and polished.

The simple attitude well displays the best lines of the figure, and an air of easy dignity is imparted by the position of the arms, one firmly supported on the hip and the other gracefully enveloped in the himation. The face is charming, and is stamped by the practical experience of life as well as by the creative genius of the intellectual man and poet. It expresses a knowledge of the joys and the sorrows of life possessed by a man who has preserved his calmness, his gentle benevolence, and tranquil piety, above all and in all. As we study this face, we can perceive the reason for his being renowned and beloved by his compatriots.

The statue of the Emperor Augustus, which was found in 1863, in a villa built by Livia about nine miles from Rome,

SOPHOCLES.

is believed to be the best likeness of the great Emperor in his prime. It is very much ornamented, but each detail can be explained, and has a rich historical meaning. Placed as this

statue is in the *Braccio Nuovo* of the Vatican, it may be easily compared with the exquisite bust known as the "Young Augustus" in the *Sala dei Busti*, and with the statue of the aged Emperor, veiled as a priest. The study of these three representations of Augustus is most interesting.

Many patrician Roman women were honoured with statues, and among those remaining none is more interesting than that of Agrippina the Elder. It is a noble statue, combining grace, dignity, and aristocratic refinement. Her strength and purity are seen in her expression; and a study of this portrait assures one that she could perform the duties of a general when occasion demanded, and again nurse the suffering with true womanly gentleness. The abundant drapery of this and similar statues, beautiful as it is, was that in actual use by Roman ladies.

It was not at all unusual for the men and women of most exalted position in Rome to be represented in portrait-sculpture with the attributes of deities; and in the best period of Roman art these statues were often very beautiful. But as art deteriorated, these works became absolutely absurd, and so unworthy any respectful consideration that it is pleasant to turn to the primary struggles of Christian art. Though groping in ignorance and helplessness, this had yet a living kernel, and held the promise of a revival of much that had died in Greece and Rome; even though it were to serve a far different purpose, and with rare exceptions could never be compared with the inapproachable excellence of the best art of the Hellenes.

The middle of the fourth century of the Christian era may be given as the approximate date to which the decline of ancient sculpture reached. The Arch of Constantine, with its reliefs of two periods, separated by two hundred years, is an admirable example of what this decline had been.

After the time of Constantine, when the Christians no longer hid themselves and the symbols of their faith in the

catacombs, they soon began to have a sculpture of their own. But statues are rare among the earliest productions of Christian art, as such representations seemed to the devout souls of that time to be an absolute disobedience of the commandment which forbids the making of graven images; thus the earliest representations of the Saviour were pictures rather than statues.

The oldest Christian statue in marble is believed to be that of Saint Hippolytus, in the Lateran Museum, where there are also two small figures of the Good Shepherd, found in the catacombs. The most important of the early Christian statues is naturally that of Saint Peter, in his basilica, the toe of which the devout Catholics kiss, and press their foreheads against the extended foot. It is a bronze statue, too rude to belong to classic art, and yet there are those who believe it to have been a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, rededicated to its present use. But the weight of authority disputes this assumption. Others say that it was made about the middle of the fifth century as a thank-offering for the deliverance of Rome from Attila through the miraculous protection of Saints Peter and Paul. In the time of Saint Innocent I. a wealthy lady, Vestina by name, gave large sums for the building and adorning of churches; this statue may be a result of her gift. In any case, it is altogether probable that it was originally made as a statue of Saint Peter; at all events, its use and the veneration paid it for fifteen hundred years command our sincere respect, while millions of men and women regard it as a sacred object.

The chief use of Christian sculpture in the earliest centuries of the Church was for the ornamentation of burial-cases. They closely resembled the ancient sarcophagi, and were decorated in bas-relief, the subjects and symbols being at first almost entirely illustrative of the life of Christ. Later the stories from all the Scriptures were used, and the designs became more and more elaborate; while they were filled in,

so to speak, with many symbols intended to elucidate the meaning of the whole. The largest number of the early Christian sarcophagi in Rome are in the museums of the Lateran and the Vatican, but are also seen in other places. Many of them are most elaborately decorated, and subjects from the Old and New Testaments are frequently curiously mingled. The sculpture of the Middle Ages was quite different in Italy from that of other nations. It held a second place in church decoration, painting being preferred before it; and in spite of the Gothic influence which extended south of the Alps, the Italians would not give up their large wall spaces, suited to the Christian paintings which they loved, and continued to build their edifices with this decoration in view. There was also an individualism in Italian art that did not exist in Germany, for example. The early works of the German sculptors were executed as a religious service, and they quite forgot themselves in their devotion, and had no thought of inscribing their names where they could be read by their descendants. Not so with the Italians; they worked for art more than for religion, although religious devotion was by no means unknown to them. Still, the most pious Italian masters recognised the advantage of making their works a part of themselves. One result of this difference was the deeper thought and more profound feeling in the works of the Northern sculptors, while those of the Italians were more artistic and attained greater perfection in form.

The principal works for the churches of Italy were separate objects, — altars, fonts, pulpits, and tombs. It rarely occurred that whole façades were covered with sculptures, as in Germany or France, and there were but few richly sculptured portals in Italy until a later period. Fine white marble was principally used in Italy, and was rarely coloured; sometimes a little gilding was used, but as a rule sculpture and painting were not united as they frequently were north of the Alps.

The Italian sculptors had a wider range in art than those of other nations, as they were by no means confined to the service of the Church. It is true that their tomb-sculpture was important, and they made numerous statues of the Madonna; but they were also employed in the decoration of civil monuments and attained great skill in historical reliefs, which afforded a great variety in their designs. Oftentimes the same artist was an architect, painter, and sculptor, which enabled him to make his plans in such a way as to afford the proper opportunity for both sculpture and painting in the decoration of his edifices.

As early as the beginning of the thirteenth century we can trace the history of Italian sculpture in the lives of separate artists, beginning, perhaps, with Nicola Pisano, born at Pisa about 1206, who spent ten years in the service of Frederic II. in Naples. This artist was followed by a long line of sculptors, all from the north of Italy, and both in the states of the Church and in Naples there are many works by these masters; but there is little to be said of native sculptors of this period, either in Rome or any portion of southern Italy.

Italian sculpture reached a rare excellence in the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was delicate and beautiful; draperies were so handled as to reveal the figure and its natural movement, while they added an exquisite grace to the whole work; the sculptures of this epoch were artistically conceived, and executed in a noble and spirited style. There are good critics who claim that the four earliest decades of this century produced many works equal to those of antiquity. Others name 1520 as the limit to the best epoch in this Renaissance sculpture, but it is difficult to place exact bounds in such a matter. The important fact is that great excellence was certainly attained.

Far greater liberty now prevailed in the choice of subjects, and the stories of mythology furnished many motives to the sculptor's art. Although the classics were diligently studied

and much intelligence was shown in these Christian-Pagan works, there is not the sincerity in them which characterised the art of the Greeks. A believer in Jesus Christ could not conceive of Jupiter as a Phidias could imagine him, with all his godlike and glorious attributes; and the gentle and loving spirit of the Saviour could not be so absorbed and appreciated as to be satisfactorily interpreted — if only from the intellectual standpoint — by the same man who could adequately depict, in the cold marble, the fiery passions of the pagan deities. Thus, while there was much that was original in this art, there were two warring elements engaged in it of which the result was not the most favourable to classic motives. But it was, nevertheless, a golden age, and many of its productions are priceless treasures.

Andrea Contucci dal Monte Sansovino, 1460–1529, was a very important sculptor, who, from being a shepherd-boy, and, like Giotto, making his first artistic efforts in decorating the rocks near which he kept his flock, rose to eminence in both architecture and sculpture. Pope Julius II. commissioned Sansovino to erect monuments to the Cardinals Rovere and Sforza in the church of S. Maria del Popolo, which are doubtless his best works. But they are not attractive because of their elaboration, which reaches confusion; and perhaps a conscientious critic would not be able to give him a more worthy title than that of a skilful workman, in whose hands marble seems to have been like wax. His works were, however, so approved by Pope Leo X. that he was given the most honourable commission of adorning the Casa Santa at Loreto. Other sculptors, not superior to Andrea Sansovino, were employed in Rome, none of whom could compare in interest and importance with Benvenuto Cellini, who lived from 1518 to 1558, mostly in Rome.

Cellini had an eventful life, and his Autobiography is a most curious and fascinating book. Among other modest claims which he makes is that of Cæsar's having given Florence its

name on account of his affection for Fiorini da Cellino, one of Benvenuto's ancestors. Arriving in Rome when eighteen years old, he soon found enployment at the hands of Pope Clement VII., the cardinals and nobles. He was a worker in metals, or rather a sculptor in them, and has not been excelled, as his exquisite works, seen in many museums, abundantly prove.

At length, when forty-five years old, he devoted nine years to his bronze statue of Perseus, now in the Loggia de' Lanzi, in Florence; and going to Rome soon after, he executed a bust of Bindo Altoviti, of which Michael Angelo wrote: "My Benvenuto, I have long known you as the best goldsmith in the world, and I now know you as an equally good sculptor, through the bust of Messer Bindo Altoviti."

Cellini's life was full of adventure and was most turbulent by reason of his fiery temper. He claims that he killed the Constable de Bourbon and wounded the Prince of Orange in the siege of Rome. No one witnessed these feats. He performed services of such value to the Church, however, that the Pope pardoned him for all the sins into which his temper had led him, including "all the homicides he had committed or might commit in the service of the Apostolic Church."

In 1534, Benvenuto killed Pompeo, a fellow-goldsmith, but his services were so valuable that he was not punished. He felt too uncomfortable to stay longer in Rome, and went to France, where he remained a year, and greatly commended himself to Francis I., who secured his services later, during five years. He made here such enemies that he was never treated as his artistic productions for the king fully merited. Madame d'Étampes hated Cellini; and when the king expressed a fear that he should lose the artist, she suggested that "the surest way of keeping him would be to hang him on a gibbet."

Curiously, we find no native Roman sculptors, and no

absolutely immortal works were done in Rome until Michael Angelo executed his Pietà for the Cardinal de S. Denis, the French ambassador at Rome. This marvellous group of the Virgin Mary holding her dead son upon her knee was at first much criticised for the youthful face of the Blessed Mother, which the sculptor defended by saying that her purity of thought kept her ever young. When a courtier asked where a mother could be found who looked younger than her son, Michael Angelo replied, "In Paradise." This was the first work which the great master contributed to the church of S. Peter, which he was later to build.

The group excited great enthusiasm in Rome; a sentiment that time has increased was aroused by the wonderful union of pure religious feeling with the most exquisite art. Poets wrote sonnets in praise of it; artists studied and copied it; and with one accord Michael Angelo was acknowledged as the greatest sculptor since the best days of the Grecian statuaries. Michael Angelo inscribed his name on the Virgin's girdle; it is said that he placed it on no other work. Unfortunately this wonderful sculpture cannot be enjoyed as it should be in its present position, above the altar of the Cappella della Pietà. That the master loved this subject is proved by the fact that a repetition of it was the last work on which he employed his leisure moments. This second Pietà was commenced many years before his death, and near the close of his life it was the solace of many sad hours; and oftentimes when he could not sleep, in the loneliness and silence of his night-watches, he devoted himself to this group, which he intended as a decoration for his own tomb. The Christ only is finished, and the precious marble in which he saw so much that he had not time to reveal to the world is now in the Cathedral of his beloved City of Flowers.

The long and sorrowful story of the "Tragedy of the Mausoleum," which Michael Angelo was commissioned to erect for Julius II., cannot be told here. Begun in 1516, it

was never executed according to the original plan, and was not placed in S. Peter's, for which it was intended. As much as Michael Angelo was permitted to do was completed in 1545, and the monument now stands in the unattractive, lonely, and neglected church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. But although the church does not seem appropriate to the Moses, the prophet fills the place; and were its surroundings as satisfactory as possible, it would surely dwarf them all.

The monument is adorned by seven statues, several terminal figures, and other details; but while some of these were executed by other artists after the designs of the master, we really care for the three statues which are his work alone: the Moses, and the Leah and Rachel on each side the sitting prophet. Leah personifies Active Life, and Rachel, Contemplative Life. But all else is overshadowed by the Moses, the Friend of God, in all the grandeur and conscious power of the law-giver.

Although sitting, he seems about to rise, and his proud head is slightly raised; under his right arm are the books of the law, and the right hand is thrust in the long waving beard which falls low on his breast; his nostrils seem expanding with excitement, and his lips appear to move in speech. Grimm wonders why any one should care for records and information of Michael Angelo when we have this statue. To me it is alive with power, determination, and restrained emotion. I cannot fancy that any one who has seen it can forget it or feel that they but beheld a marble statue, so tremendous is its impression of living force.

"The Moses is the crown of modern sculpture," says Grimm, "not only in idea, but also with regard to the work, which, incomparable in its execution, rises to a delicacy which could scarcely be carried further. What shoulders are joined to those arms! What a countenance! The muscles of the brow threateningly contracted; a glance, as if it passed over an entire plain full of people and ruled them; the muscles of the arm, whose ungovern-

able power we feel! Whom did Michael Angelo chisel in this form? Himself and Julius both seem portrayed in it. All the power which Michael Angelo possessed, and which the world did not understand, was exhibited in those limbs; and the passionate violence of the Pope in that countenance."

And in another spirit this same master had chiselled the beautiful Virgin of the Pietà! We do not wonder that a man with a genius like that of Michael Angelo, when brought into constant association and constant contention with a man like Julius II., should create the Moses; but how, in the midst of the Rome of his day, with its corruption, could this wonderfully tender Pietà be made? And, thinking thus, I can but recall these lines of this marvellous man, "great in all arts":

> "When godlike art has, with superior thought,
> The limbs and motions in idea conceived,
> A simple form, in humble clay achieved,
> Is the first offering into being brought:
> Then stroke on stroke from out the living rock,
> Its promised work the practised chisel brings,
> And into life a form so graceful springs
> That none can fear for it time's rudest shock."

With the beginning of the seventeenth century, art had visibly declined and a new era in sculpture had been inaugurated. In the service of the Church, sentiment was appealed to in a far coarser and more sensational manner than formerly. The aim was effect and strong emotion at any cost. Solemn dignity and ideal repose no longer pleased. Everything must now speak rapture and ecstasy, or agony and despair. To satisfy this depraved taste, sculpture was forced into realistic representations, striking attitudes and forms, and a bold display of passion, from which we turn with disgust and with sorrow as well, perceiving how the highest glory of the art is already of the past. It is true that at this time vast sums were expended; able artists produced splendid works of their type; but, alas! the type was

BUST OF POPE INNOCENT X. BY LORENZO BERNINI.

absolutely repugnant; it was like a revel of the base over the death of the pure and noble.

The first and most prominent artist in this style was Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, who filled Rome with his works. He varies in the treatment of his figures from such muscular power as has no resemblance to nature to a softness which indicates no anatomy and represents the human form as a mass of fleshly pulp. When Bernini's productions are spoken of as works of art, one can but wonder at the application of the term.

In decorative work, such as the colonnades in the Piazza of S. Peter's with their many statues, and in the decorations of the bridge of S. Angelo, the works of Bernini are more acceptable, but in these figures all is theatrical. He chose some moment in the lives of his subjects that afforded him an opportunity for a striking attitude and a dramatic effect.

The general impression made by the art of the seventeenth century is that of haste. To do a thing quickly was more important than to do it well. Life was more restless in all directions than in the previous centuries, and artists permitted themselves to be influenced by this condition; and as the natural result, all the arts assumed a superficiality that could but minister to their decline.

SYLVANUS.

CHAPTER XVII.

ROMAN PAINTING AND MOSAICS.

IN painting, as in other arts, Rome derived her inspiration from Greece or Greek sources, and it is a curious fact that while Roman literature, also fashioned from Greek models, took on individuality and became Roman, the arts never acquired a Roman force and personality, — if the word may be used to denote a genuine Roman stamp; and this in spite of the fact that in the earliest colonies in Italy there existed a rude sort of painting; polychromatic and void of perspective, it is always the same, never developing as it should have done, even from so crude a beginning.

C. Fabius Pictor, about 300 B. C., executed a wall-painting in the Temple of Salus. It was destroyed by fire in the time of Claudius, and must have been counted of importance, since by reason of it this artist of the famous Gens Fabius acquired his surname of Painter. Again, about 180 B. C., the tragic poet, Pacuvius, decorated with pictures the Temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium; and at about the same time Marcus Plautius Lyco executed wall-paintings in the Temple of Juno in Ardea, which procured for him the freedom of the city.

After the fall of Corinth, in 146 B. C., had completed the subjugation of Greece, it was easier for the Romans to rob the conquered country of its treasures and carry them to Rome than it could have been to create a Roman art, even had the Romans been blessed with artistic gifts. Hence-

forth the frescoes and other paintings required by the luxury-loving Romans were assigned to the Greek artists, who hastened to Rome in great numbers, hoping to enrich themselves by the patronage of their conquerors. Aside from the decoration of private houses and the painting of portraits, however, little was accomplished by the earliest Greek painters in Rome.

PRACTICE OF MUSIC. WALL DECORATION.

In the Augustan Age a Greek artist called Marcus Ludius was a favourite decorator, his landscapes with figures being much admired. Before this period, about 100 B. C., there had been a Byzantine painter who acquired great fame, called Timomachus; two of his most celebrated works had been purchased by Julius Cæsar and brought to Rome.

Pure Roman art was at the height of its importance during the first three centuries of the Christian era; but even at

its best, no native painter approached the excellence of the Greeks, or of the later Italian artists, who came to Rome from portions of Italy quite outside the Roman territory.

In Pompeii and Herculaneum decorative painting was much affected, and reached a certain pleasing excellence, a few pictures discovered there displaying a somewhat ambitious dexterity.

The mosaics of Pompeii, used as wall decorations as well as in the pavements, were extremely fine, and were doubtless copies from Greek pictures or designs.

Perhaps the finest existing ancient paintings are the scenes from the story of the life of Adonis, discovered in some ruins near the Baths of Titus.

The earliest examples known by the name of Christian paintings are essentially as pagan as Christian, being, in reality, simply transitional. Several designs which were much affected — as I have already indicated — would be as acceptable to the pagan worshippers of Orpheus as to the Christians; to the latter, nevertheless, the representation of this youthful deity playing his lyre and charming the wild beasts by his music was a beautiful symbol of the power of Christianity to draw all men to the Saviour.

It is difficult to imagine that it could have been otherwise; the artists who decorated the corridors of the catacombs were doubtless cherishing a secret religion. They were constantly employed in ornamenting Roman dwellings with mythological and pagan subjects, to which they attributed a symbolism that would have astonished their pagan patrons.

A well-known example of the design last mentioned is that from the catacombs of S. Callixtus, and is thought to belong to the reign of Alexander Severus, 222–235 A. D.

Christian painting showed no characteristics absolutely peculiar to itself until Christianity became the religion of the State. From this time, in the motives of the mosaics of the basilicas, in the rare wall paintings, in illuminations

of manuscripts, etc., a kind of design and painting were developed which makes the connection, in a degree, between the classic pagan art and the Christian art of the revival of the thirteenth century.

Manuscript or miniature painting was carried to a remarkable perfection, and these fascinating works of greater or less excellence are now seen in the museums of many countries. In the Vatican Library the "Book of Joshua" and a famous "Virgil" are two most interesting examples, both for their excellence and real value, and also for the contrast in the subjects which are illustrated.

Perhaps the pictures in the lower, ancient church of S. Clement, dating from the ninth century, are as worthy of attention as any existing Christian paintings executed in the centuries when the art of Italy was paralysed. Byzantine art was flourishing during these ages in which Italian art was overcome by a death-like sleep. Teachers from the monasteries of the Eastern Empire went to Italy and executed their works, or instructed others in their art. Rome, however, was not so productive a field at this period as Venice; which city, being especially prosperous at this time and quite undisturbed by the Barbarians, — besides having much commerce and frequent communication with the Eastern capital, — was so fortunate as to secure such treasures of Byzantine art as to-day delight us in the basilica of San Marco; where the decorations of the tenth or eleventh centuries are probably the best-existing specimens of such art as filled Constantinople at that time.

The names and histories of the artists who did this work are almost as unknown to us as are those of the men who embellished the temples and tombs of ancient Egypt. A study of San Marco alone, however, shows the advance that was made in design, if not in execution and richness. The mosaics of the vestibule, probably of the twelfth century, display an increasing freedom, a boldness of conception,

and a power quite out of tune with the stupor and rudeness of Western art, or the formal rigidity which ordinarily characterised the Byzantine art of this century; these works are like an advance courier of the time when an art would again exist in Italy worthy of succeeding the art of the past, and of whose creators and apostles we should know the names and the stories of their lives.

The early Christians regarded any attempt at a direct representation of the Saviour with horror; and for a time those characters from the Old Testament which could be considered as types, and in a sense forerunners of Jesus, were represented as symbolical of Him. For example, Abraham sacrificing Isaac emphasised the love of the All-Father, which led to the sacrifice of the Son of God for the sins of the world. Daniel in the lions' den typified the Saviour passing through His sorrows and the Valley of the Shadow of Death. The casting up of Jonah by the whale symbolised the Resurrection, etc.

It is a very curious fact that the first representations of Jesus Christ belonged to pagans; as, in the chapel of Alexander Severus, a representation of the Saviour was placed beside one of Apollonius of Tyana, while those of Abraham and Orpheus were near by. Eusebius refused to obtain for the sister of Constantine the Great a representation of Jesus Christ on purely religious grounds; and even Saint Augustine, a century later, disapproved of such pictures, saying that nothing was known of the appearance of the Saviour. Yet it would seem that Saint Augustine must have been aware of the personal description of Jesus given in the letter of Lentulus; and one would think that he must have been familiar with the belief that a portrait of the Saviour had been painted by Saint Luke.

Nevertheless, there were representations of Jesus Christ both in the catacombs of S. Callixtus and S. Ponziano, and these were rapidly multiplied. In the catacombs there were

many pictures which would lead to the conclusion that decorative painting in the time of Constantine was vastly superior in technique to the sculpture of the same period, if we take that upon the Arch of Constantine as the standard; and it would seem that this work should have commanded the talent of the best artists.

In the fourth century those mosaics already described, made from finer and more beautiful materials than had been used in the pavements, came into vogue, and in them have been preserved some precious specimens of the art of the early Christians. Curiously, there seem to be no middle examples between the small mosaics of Pompeii and imperial Rome, and those large wall-mosaics which so splendidly decorated the Christian ecclesiastical edifices. While it is unusual to find any artistic work of equal importance entirely unheralded, so far as we positively know, this imposing decoration came into existence and assumed its magnitude during the fourth century. In the course of the next few decades, the execution of these works was so much improved that, in the exquisite and costly materials used, they became the ostentatious expression of the triumphant Church. Oftentimes they possessed great dignity and even majesty, as in the colossal Saviour, the Apostles, or Saints, almost universally placed in the chief apsis behind the altar, as I have mentioned.

The mosaics of the tribune in S. Maria Maggiore are the finest in Rome belonging to this era. They date from 432 to 440 A. D. "In the freedom of historical composition which characterises these mosaics," says Kugler, "they differ in no essential principle from the antique; however evident — in point of deficiency of keeping and drawing, in awkwardness of action, and in the laborious crowding together of the figures — the increasing inability of execution may appear. The costumes, especially of the warriors, are still of the ancient cast, and in single figures — particularly

on the arch of triumph — excellent in style, though, at the same time, not seen to advantage in this material on so small a scale. Outlines and shadows are strongly and boldly defined."

But no other building of the period gives so full an effect of these works as is afforded by the chapel of the Empress Galla Placidia at Ravenna, which is preserved entire, with all its mosaics, and is now known as the church of SS. Nazaro e Celso. This, taken as a whole, must be acknowledged to be the best remaining specimen of the ornamented edifices of this period.

MOSAIC FROM S. MARIA MAGGIORE.

Among the most ancient and the most beautiful antique mosaics in Rome are those in the apsis of the vestibule of the Baptistery of the Lateran. Above is the *Agnus Dei* — Lamb of God — with four doves, below which the space is filled with exquisite green-gold tendrils on a dark-blue ground, affording a most refined and lovely decoration.

Unfortunately, the mosaics of the time of Pope Leo the Great, 440–462 A. D., in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, have been so much injured and restored that they are less interesting than those that are more nearly original. Those on the chancel arch, a gift of the Empress Galla Placidia, are important in a thorough study of mosaics, and even more so in that of Christian symbolism. Here winged angels are substituted for the little genii with grapes. The Good Shepherd is replaced by the worship of Christ by the four and twenty

elders of the Book of the Revelations. Some of these are bareheaded, while others are covered; the last symbolise the prophets of the Old Testament, who saw truth through a veil; the first represent those who beheld it face to face. In the clouds above, the four symbolic winged animals bear the Gospels.

The mosaics of the sixth century begin to show the decline of art; but it may be said that this decline was so gradual as not to be very pronounced until the final quarter of this period. The mosaics in the church of SS. Cosma and Damian are the best of this century remaining in Rome; indeed, the figure of Christ is marvellously fine; there are many admirable points in these works, although they have been sadly injured by restorations. But the spirit, the vitality, of the earlier mosaics is gone; and in its place one feels the approach of the statuesque element that was fairly inaugurated in the seventh century. In spite of careful execution, the decline of the art is felt, stealing on gradually and gently as does a calm and composed old age; and, curiously enough, the figures in the pictures all begin to be aged. Saints Cosma and Damian are past middle life; and although the Saviour is younger than the other holy men, He is still older than even His sorrows should have rendered the eternal Son of God.

It is said that no mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries still remaining are as fine as others that have been destroyed, and from this time there was a steady decadence in art.

The observations just made in relation to mosaics are equally applicable to all art of the same periods. Whenever, after the fifth century, a good thing is found, it may be safely attributed to the fact that the incapacity of the artist and his poverty in inventive power led him to do the best thing that he could have done, by copying an old and good work.

In the seventh century the artists who attempted to follow the older styles of art sank into what can only be described

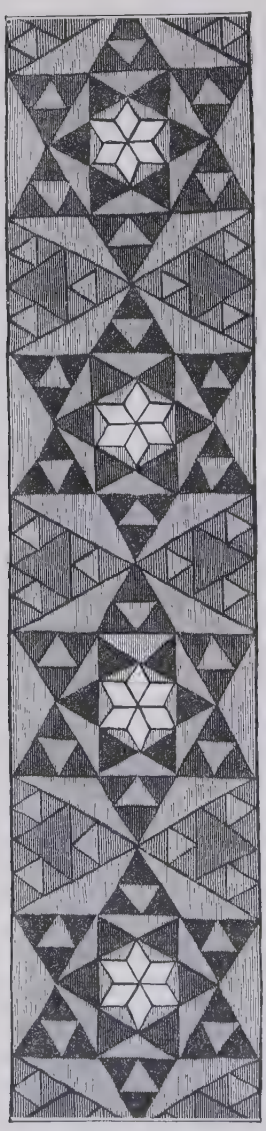
as artistic barbarism; which, in painting, mosaics, and miniatures, simply ran wild, while the condition of sculpture may be imagined when we remember that a relief on the door of S. Fidele, in Como, represented angels as bearing Habakkuk away by the hair of his head!

Delightful pages can be written dwelling on Byzantine art in detail, — on its rise and its decline, as well as on that of Italian art; but here, from the introductory outline already given, we must pass to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when in Tuscany the revival of art began seriously to make itself apparent, and so to acquire confidence and assert itself that it became a factor of the life of the time, and made a part of its history. Pisa, Siena, and Florence had each a few great masters, and many others less important, and, as in earlier epochs, painting was essentially an attendant on architecture, so was it now.

Public buildings, churches, and certain unusual constructions, like the Campo Santo of Pisa, afforded artists rich opportunities for mural paintings; and it now began to be the custom for painters, before beginning altar-pieces or other pictures on canvas, to consider the positions in which they were to be placed, as to height, light, etc., and to regard these conditions in the execution of their works.

It was not until later, when such results had been achieved as awakened the desire for artistic decorations in the houses of the wealthy, that it became customary to paint pictures, quite independent of where they should be placed by the patrons of art who ordered, or might purchase them.

This revival of painting, and the enormous enthusiasm which the works of the artists of Northern Italy excited, had no association with Rome until Giotto, the Florentine, born in 1266, was invited by Pope Boniface VIII. to assist in the decoration of the basilica of S. Peter. The famous mosaic which he executed, called the *Navicella*, representing Saint Peter walking on the sea, is still seen over the central en-



COSMATI MOSAIC.

trance to the present church from the vestibule. This was designed in 1298 by Giotto, and finished by his pupils, but has been so much restored that it is questionable if the design even remains the same as when it was made.

The Cosmati family made their mosaics — already several times referred to in chapter fourth — at this period, and some of Giotto's pupils and assistants, especially Pietro Cavallini, continued to decorate S. Peter's and other edifices; but there was no Roman art in the sense in which such a phrase can be used concerning the northern Italian centres. All the works executed in Rome — as of old when the Greeks became Roman artists — were done by men from Velletri, Orvieto, Siena, etc.

Not until the time of Gentile da Fabriano and Melozzo da Forli were any painters claimed as Romans, and even these were not essentially so, as their names indicate. The first died about 1450; little positive knowledge of his movements exists, and I know of no entire work by him now remaining in Rome.

Forli was governed by a nephew of Pope Sixtus IV., and through his influence Melozzo went to Rome, was appointed painter to the Pope,

and received the honour of knighthood. Very little of his work remains; but the fragments preserved in the sacristy of S. Peter's, the Quirinal Palace, and the Lateran, prove him to have been an artist of unusual talent. The boldness of his composition and the force of his imagination appear, even in these imperfect remains. Da Forli died in 1494, at the end of a century which had witnessed a great advance in the technique of painting. Heretofore, fresco or distemper had been the only mediums known, and the introduction of oil colours brought about a complete revolution in this department of art.

Then, too, the knowledge of perspective and chiaroscuro advanced rapidly at this period; while the devotion of the artists to their loftiest ideals had not yet been merged in personal ambition and pride. They still used their talents in the service of their religion, and the fifteenth century is glorified by the names of Giotto, Fra Angelico, Masaccio, Fra Filippo Lippi, and many other immortal artists.

In the fifth decade of this century, Fra Angelico, having completed his frescoes of the History of the Passion in the convent of San Marco in Florence, was invited to Rome by Pope Nicholas V., for whom he undertook the decoration of two chapels in the Vatican, which have been so much restored that they now afford little satisfaction. A predella in the Vatican Gallery, representing the legend of Saint Nicholas of Bari, is an excellent example of the manner of this great master in depicting semi-genre subjects.

The frescoes by Angelico in the private chapel of Pope Nicholas V. represent the principal events in the lives of Saints Stephen and Lawrence. They display such dramatic power that one cannot but lament that his death came so soon after this remarkable evidence that — although he had reached threescore years — he was in his greatest vigour as an artist.

These works were scarcely completed when he died, and

by some singular chance were forgotten, and rediscovered only in the reign of Pope Pius VII.

It was necessary to make an entrance to the chapel through a window. The scene representing Saint Lawrence distributing money to the poor is very fine; but the more spiritually imaginative subjects painted by Il Beato Angelico show his wonderful gifts at their best. Among these the "Annunciation" and the "Coronation of the Virgin" are exquisite in conception and execution.

He always began his work with prayer and dedicated all his efforts to the service of the Master; thus each work was a revelation in his eyes, and he would make no alterations for this reason. He would accept no money for his pictures, and painted religious subjects only. Fra Angelico died in the convent adjoining the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, in which, on the left of the choir, is his tomb.

Gianantonio Bazzi, or Razzi, known as "Il Sodoma," was born a year earlier than Michael Angelo, but died fifteen years before the great master. Pope Julius II. summoned Il Sodoma to Rome, to aid in the decoration of the Vatican, where little, if any, of his work remains. In the Palazzo, or Villa Farnesina, however, he executed some frescoes for the banker Chigi which are extremely pleasing. The subjects are scenes from the life of Alexander, and the head of Roxana is but little inferior to some pictures by Raphael.

The Sistine Chapel is deservedly famous for its remarkable artistic interest, as well as for its religious associations. It was built in 1473, in the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV., by a Florentine architect, Baccio Pontelli. A list of the names of the artists who have painted the walls of this chapel is surprising by reason of their numbers. The works of some of these men have entirely disappeared, having given place to more recent decorations.

My space will not permit descriptions of the remaining pictures, which are all more or less injured by restorations

CRISTO DI MICHELANGELO.

and otherwise. They are the works of Luca Signorelli, Perugino, Sandro Botticelli, Cosimo Roselli, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and Cecchino Salviati, as well as of the great master, Michael Angelo.

Botticelli, now so well known and so much admired, superintended much of the decorative work executed in the Sistine about 1474, and a few years later. Born in 1437, he was still a young man, and when the principal decorations of this chapel were done, Botticelli was of the age at which Raphael died. The subjects of his own pictures were Moses at the Well, Moses killing the Egyptian, the Rebellion of Korah, and the Temptation of Christ. He also executed the portraits of twenty-eight popes in the spaces between the windows.

So great is the interest in the works of Michael Angelo that these pictures do not always receive the attention that they well merit.

Perugino, the master of Raphael, is generally acknowledged as the founder of the style of painting which was perfected by his famous pupil. Perugino's pictures are seen in all fine galleries. His most celebrated works in Rome are the Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter in the Sistine Chapel, the Madonna and four Saints in the Vatican Gallery, and the ceiling in the Stanza della Segnatura, on the walls of which are Raphael's beautiful frescoes. Many other pictures by Perugino are seen in various churches and galleries in Rome.

Pinturicchio was also of Perugia and a partner of Perugino. In Rome he was first patronised by the Rovere, and later by the Piccolomini. He executed numerous frescoes in the Roman churches and palaces. For Pope Alexander VI. he decorated the *Appartamenti Borgia* in the Vatican, five of which remain in their original state, while the paintings with which he decorated the Castle of S. Angelo have been destroyed. The amount of his

labours is astonishing, and may be largely accounted for by his capacity to employ numerous assistants, as well as to his enormous facility in his art.

Pinturicchio's pictures in the church of S. Maria del Popolo are still preserved in part. The Coronation of the Virgin, on the ceiling of the choir, is a good example of his style. His works are seen in many places, and in his day the landscape portions of his compositions attracted much attention. Little had then been accomplished in this department of painting, and Pinturicchio received many commissions of importance for decorations in this style. Pope Innocent VIII. gave him an order to decorate a hall in the Belvedere with landscapes alone, which was much admired.

But the great interest in painting in Rome centres in the works of Michael Angelo and Raphael in the Vatican, executed in the early part of the sixteenth century. Michael Angelo, summoned anew to Rome, by Pope Julius II., in 1508, was commanded to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which task did not please him; he objected that he had used no colours, and was not suited to the work. But the Pope was obstinate, and the master found no way of escape from compliance with the will of Julius.

The difficulties in his way were numerous. The first, the building of the scaffolding, was overcome by Michael Angelo himself. He then chose a half-dozen assistants, but soon found that they could not aid him. He did not like to tell them that they were unsatisfactory, and so went away suddenly, and when they found the chapel closed, understanding perfectly the meaning of it, they went home to Florence.

When the master returned he destroyed all that these men had done, and forbade any one to come on the scaffolding save his colour-grinder and the Pope. Between the spring and autumn of 1509, the first half of the ceiling was completed. The Pope was impatient, and wished to take down

the scaffolding to display the work to the Romans. The master objected; and the two obstinate great men came to high words, Julius threatening to throw the artist down from the scaffold.

Michael Angelo was forced to give in; and in the midst of the dust and confusion of removing the staging, the Pope remained, admiring the work. On All Saints' Day, all Rome flocked to view this painting, which had grown like magic.

This ceiling may be said to have been the first important work of modern painting. Before this, arched ceilings had been divided into different compartments. Michael Angelo ignored the dome, and arranged his pictures as if the space were open above, and built, by means of perspective delusion, an architecture into the air; he united the imaginary walls, to which he had given a magnificent cornice, by airy arches, extending from one marble breastwork to another.

The spaces between the arches were filled with paintings drawn in perspective. The figures, which only serve to decorate the architectural part of the painting, are almost numberless. Colossal slaves are seated by the arches at the edge of the cornice; bronze medallions appear inserted in the marble; figures like caryatides seem to support the edge of the cornice, etc. There is not a spot left unpainted. To describe the pictures, or even to enumerate all the subjects, would demand more space than we can give. The Creation of the World, of Adam and Eve, the Expulsion from Paradise, the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, the Deluge, Sibyls and Prophets, the Death of Haman, the Serpent in the Wilderness, the Death of Goliath, and Judith and Holofernes are but a part of the subjects represented.

Michael Angelo stood alone in Rome at this time. Raphael was painting in the Vatican, and the two masters appeared as heads of opposing parties. On the side of Michael Angelo was the Pope. To Raphael flocked the artists. We

can only think of Raphael as young, happy, and beautiful, with an inexhaustible power for continuous work, not affected by time and change of circumstances.

Michael Angelo, on the contrary, was more sensitive, being animated or retarded by the course of events. He could not forget the interests of his family and his country; and considering his life as a whole, he seems involved in everything of importance in his age; while Raphael lived a story, so to speak, that can be told as a separate tale, concerning few aside from himself and the mistress whom he loved. The works which he executed in Rome are so superior to his previous pictures that a question has often been raised regarding the influence of Michael Angelo upon the younger man. May not the fact that he was placed in such apparent comparison with the great master have developed his utmost power?

Michael Angelo now began the second half of the ceiling, the most magnificent of his paintings. The Pope had removed the scaffolding before the pictures already done had been retouched or gilded. He wished now that these details should be completed; the master, however, was ardently desirous of beginning the new paintings. "But it looks so poor," said Julius. "I have painted only poor people there, who did not wear gold on their persons," replied Michael Angelo. This consideration appealed to the Pope; and he allowed the master to go on as he wished, but constantly tormented him by his haste, and his assumption that to please him was the only duty of the great artist.

In the midsummer of 1510, Michael Angelo insisted on a leave of absence. The Pope asked when he could be ready, in that case, with the chapel. "When I can," replied the master. The Pope repeated his words more than once, and struck the artist with his stick. After a short stay in Florence, Michael Angelo returned to Rome and finished the ceiling, the whole work having been accomplished in

twenty months. Grimm says "it required the meeting of these two men — in the one such perseverance in requiring, and in the other such power in fulfilling — to produce this monument of human art."

But Michael Angelo was not happy in Rome. He could not obtain the money that Julius owed him, and there came a coolness between these two men. Meantime, the master felt that his influence was growing less, while that of Raphael was increasing; and he went to Florence, never seeing Julius again, as he died in 1513, before the master returned to Rome.

In 1535, Michael Angelo — having passed through stormy years since leaving Rome, a quarter of a century before — returned at the command of Paul III. This Pope desired him to further decorate the Sistine Chapel by a picture of the Last Judgment, of which he had made a sketch that the Pope had seen. The world had almost forgotten that Michael Angelo could paint; and he felt that engagements already made with others rendered it dishonourable for him to do this work. But the Pope was determined, and took it upon himself to satisfy those to whom the master was pledged.

The cartoons for this painting were begun in 1533, the work itself two years later, and it was finished in six years. This great composition contained nude figures only. In the upper part of the picture the Saviour, rising from His seat, lifts His right hand, as if to give the signal for the dead to rise from their graves. With the left hand He seems to repulse the troop of condemned souls, towards whom His face is turned. He is surrounded by the Apostles, Patriarchs, Saints, Martyrs, and Adam and Eve, all begging for salvation.

Below the Christ are seven terrific archangels, who summon the dead with their trumpets. The blessed, when arisen, join the throng on the right of the Saviour, while

GROUP FROM A PICTURE BY BOTTICELLI. IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL.

angels beat the wicked down to perdition. Below is Charon with his winged boat, transporting a crew of lost souls to hell; while in the very lowest part the dead are breaking through the earth and seem to be dazed by the sudden call to awake for judgment.

Of all the frescoes of the sixteenth century, none has suffered like this, both from time in its passage and from the abuse it has received at the hands of men; fortunately, there are copies and old engravings from it that enable us to understand what it must have been originally. But the overpowering effect which it produced when it was first executed could not result from the sight of it, even were it as fresh and perfect as then.

The sentiments of the Christian world are so changed since Michael Angelo painted his sermons that this realism would be almost powerless in the sense in which it was then full of force. Michael Angelo clothed the word-pictures of Dante in splendid colours; and, like all symbolic productions, it has no meaning unless we can supply it from our own souls. This picture has no longer a resemblance to anything that we sincerely believe; it is now but an illustration of the spirit of an age and a people with which we are not in accord, and with which we believe that the master himself was not in perfect harmony.

During the period when he was engaged on this work there were important national and religious movements in progress. The Florentines endeavoured to regain their old liberty; the Reformation was in progress in Germany; and the men who surrounded the Pope were of unusual brilliancy. Michael Angelo was welcome to this circle, but his great industry forbade his spending much time away from his work. He knew, however, their views and aims, and sympathised with those who would have reconciled the Lutherans and the Church.

There are many things which show us the religious creed

of the master. It was while he was painting the "Last Judgment" that his father died; he was shaken to his very soul by this sorrow. It was then that he wrote the beautiful sonnet, beginning, —

> "Already had I wept and sighed so much
> I thought all grief for ever at an end,
> Exhaled in sighs, shed forth in bitter tears."

This sonnet is too long to be entirely quoted; but he makes no allusion to purgatory, and seems sure of the perfect bliss of his father. This involved the then disputed question of the Christian world, but he apparently was troubled by no doubts. When his brother died without the sacraments of the Church, Michael Angelo wrote that if he had shown true repentance and submission to God's will, that was sufficient to his eternal blessedness. He speaks of his father with the most assured faith, and proclaims the healthiness of his nature and his trustful dependence upon God in the following words: —

> "Thou art to dying, dead, and made divine;
> Thou neither wishest nor dost fear a change
> I cannot choose but envy thee for this.
>
> "Fortune and time no longer now shall strive
> To cross thy threshold, bringing in their train
> Uncertain cheerfulness and certain pain.
>
> "There are no clouds to darken thy bright day,
> No portioned hours to bind thee 'gainst thy will,
> Nor chance nor need to force thee here and there.
>
> "Night cannot hide thy glory, nor can day
> Increase its brightness; e'en meridian sun,
> With all its heat, fails to enhance thy light.
>
> "From thy calm death, I learn to meet my end,
> O happy father! and in thought I see
> My passage upwards into heavenly spheres."

During the Christmas festival in 1541, the painting of the Judgment was exposed to the view of the people. Michael

Angelo had represented Minos with the face of the master of ceremonies of the Inquisition, which had been established during the previous year and had spread terror throughout Italy. The Pope, when appealed to on this matter, replied that even popes could not release men from eternal suffering. Soon the "Last Judgment" was much abused from the pulpits; and the plan which had been made to paint the Fall of the Angels on the opposite wall was no more spoken of. But Paul III. would not release Michael Angelo from his service. He had built a new chapel in the Vatican, and was determined that the master should decorate it, which he at length did, representing the Crucifixion of Saint Peter and the Conversion of Saint Paul. These works can only now be judged from old engravings, as the cleanings and restorations that they have undergone have almost entirely destroyed the originals. These were finished within nine years, and were his last paintings.

Michael Angelo is not known to have painted, or to have completed, more than two easel pictures. One of these, a Holy Family, is in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence; the second, "Leda," was destroyed. In the National Gallery, London, are two unfinished works, — an Entombment and a Madonna and Child with Angels, which are probably genuine, and by his own hand. He left many finished drawings at his death; some of the finest are in the royal collection at Windsor; others are in the University galleries at Oxford. His pupils and followers made finished pictures from some of these designs, which have passed as his own works. Probably the "Fates" in the Pitti Palace is not even so nearly associated with him as to be one of these.

This great master could not be said to have left a school of disciples or pupils, although his influence over all later Italian art was very great. In his own time this was distinctly perceptible in the change of style in the works of artists after studying the paintings of Michael Angelo. Even of Raphae

this has been many times observed; and it is certainly true that he never exhibited his full strength until he had seen the works of Michael Angelo at Rome.

Marcello Venusti executed many pictures from the drawings of Michael Angelo. He was distinguished for his refined and delicate manner, as may be seen in his works in various galleries. Sebastiano del Piombo was a welcome assistant to Michael Angelo, who hoped with his own design and the Venetian colouring by Sebastiano to produce works that would equal those of Raphael's school, which were so much admired. The best pupil of this master, however, was Daniele da Volterra, whose great painting of the "Descent from the Cross," in the Trinità di Monti, in Rome, is full of action. It is a grand work, impassioned, and so nearly in the manner of his master that it has been believed to have been designed by Michael Angelo and painted by Volterra.

Many artists were brought in close contact with Michael Angelo and felt his influence, while they could not be literally called his pupils or disciples, and for many of them he was able to obtain advantageous commissions and appointments; as when he secured the office of Keeper of the Papal Seal for Guglielmo della Porta, as successor to Sebastiano del Piombo. This Della Porta was an assistant of the master at the Farnese Palace, and in other undertakings, both of architecture and sculpture. The principal independent work of this sculptor was a monument to Pope Paul III., originally placed in the tribune of S. Peter's; the statues of Piety and Abundance, which made a part of this monument, are now in the Farnese, where this sculptor worked with the great master, when he produced the architecture of this palace,— the finest in Rome, as is admitted by general consent.

Pope Paul III., Farnese, began to build the palace, which, being unfinished at his death, was completed by his nephews. Gibbon says: "The nephews of Paul III. are the guilty agents, and every traveller who views the Farnese Palace may curse

the sacrilege and luxury of these upstart princes," because they obtained the travertine they used from the Theatre of Marcellus and the Colosseum.

But when one now beholds the splendid cornice and the attic with its Corinthian pillars, by Michael Angelo, and realises that if the Farnese family had not robbed the ancient structures, they would not have escaped devastation, one is not inclined to be as severe as Gibbon, — although the deep regret is always felt that the old Rome is not standing with the new, as it might so well have been to a great extent. And, as I have already said, it is wonderful that Michael Angelo, with his fearlessness, should have consented to bear any part in this destruction of the splendid architectural works which he, of all others, must have appreciated. Cardinal Farnese found the master one day in the last years of his life seriously studying the Colosseum; he explained his occupation by saying, "I go yet to school, that I may still learn."

In regard to this subject, Commendatore Lanciani suggests that the Colosseum paid the ransom of many other antique edifices which were saved by its destruction, and says: "Let us reserve the severity of our judgment for those who, in a more civilised and appreciative age, have destroyed without a moment's hesitation the finest monuments of Rome; for Sixtus V., who at the end of the sixteenth century destroyed the Septizonium of Septimius Severus; for Paul V., Borghese, who employed the marbles of Minerva's Temple in the Forum Transitorium to build the Borghese Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore and the fountain of the Aqua Paola on the Janiculum; for Alexander VII., Chigi, who in 1662 demolished the triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius on the Corso."

Vignola also worked with Michael Angelo at the Farnese, and succeeded him as architect of S. Peter's and the Capitol, and erected the Porta del Popolo from the master's plans; while from the same great artist Ammanati learned

such lessons as enabled him to execute his colossal statues in various cities. The list of artists who came under Michael Angelo's influence could be much lengthened; and in Naples, Spain, and numerous cities of Italy, the results of personal contact with him may be traced in works executed later by younger men, who had studied and laboured under his direction.

Among the characteristics of Michael Angelo was a pride of family and an interest in genealogical studies. He believed that he was descended from the Counts of Canossa, and promised his nephew that when he had time he would inform him "of our origin, and whence and when we came to Florence." He was very desirous that his nephews should marry and maintain the family name and traditions. When asked why he had not himself married, he replied, "I have a wife who is too much for me already, — one who unceasingly persecutes me. It is my art, and my works are my children."

There is a tradition that in his youth, when still a protégé of Lorenzo de' Medici, Michael Angelo loved the daughter of his patron, Luisa; but it is easily understood that such pride as his would keep him silent under these circumstances. All his life, however, he proved himself tender-hearted and affectionate to his family and the few to whom he accorded his friendship; and the exquisite feeling which he displayed in his old age for Vittoria Colonna, and his association with her, makes one of the most beautiful stories that have come down to us through the centuries.

This devoted friendship endured through fifteen years; and when she retired to Viterbo they corresponded with frequency, we must believe, since after a year she wrote, —

"Magnificent Master, Michael Angelo: I have not answered your letter before, thinking that if you and I continue to write according to my obligation and your courtesy, it will be necessary that I leave Saint Catherine's Chapel, without finding myself with the Sisters at the appointed hours, and that you must abandon the

Pauline Chapel, and not keep yourself all day long in sweet colloquy with your paintings; . . . so that I from the brides of Christ, and you from his Vicar, shall fall away."

Towards the end of her life, however, she remained at Rome, and was frequently with Michael Angelo while he was at his work, and he was much at her house. They spoke rarely of love. They were equally absorbed in the religious questions of the day, and cherished a purer spirit of religion than was prevalent in the Rome of their epoch. When the Colonna palaces were confiscated by the Pope, Vittoria retired to the nunnery of S. Anna, in 1544. Three years later, being very ill, she was removed to the palace of a kinswoman, Giulia Colonna Cesarini, where she soon died. The four sonnets which Michael Angelo wrote to her memory are remarkable in their vitality, sincerity, and quaintness. Condivi relates that his master told him that he grieved at nothing so much as that when Vittoria Colonna was dying he had not kissed her face as he kissed her hand.

Michael Angelo wrote verses from his very youth, and his poems have been much admired and praised by poets of various nations. Wordsworth and Coleridge, Longfellow and Norton, have made many translations from them; and Wordsworth wrote that his poems were "the most difficult to construe I ever met with, but just what you would expect from such a man, showing abundantly how conversant his soul was with great things." Condivi tells us that his master knew the *Divina Commedia* by heart, as well as most of Petrarch's Sonnets; and Michael Angelo's Sonnets show the influence of these immortal poets. Most unhappily the copy of Dante, a large folio, which Michael Angelo used, and had annotated and illustrated with pen-and-ink sketches, was lost in a shipwreck. I can give but one example of his sonnets in my space, and choose that addressed to the Saviour and translated by Wordsworth: —

"Eternal Lord! eased of a cumbrous load,
And loosened from the world, I turn to Thee;
Shun, like a shattered bark, the storm, and flee
To Thy protection for a safe abode.
The crown of thorns, hands pierced upon the tree,
The meek, benign, and lacerated face,
To a sincere repentance promise grace,
To the sad soul give hope of pardon free.
With justice mark not Thou, O Light divine,
My fault, nor hear it with Thy Sacred ear;
Neither put forth that way Thy hand severe:
Wash with Thy blood my sins; thereto incline
More readily, the more my years require
Help and forgiveness speedy and entire."

As Michael Angelo grew aged and less vigorous, his friends were most thoughtful of his comfort, and not only visited him, but also sent him gifts of such luxuries as he would use. The winter of 1563–64 brought a consuming slow fever and great weakness to the master, who well understood the meaning of this condition; but he took a daily ride until the middle of February, and on the 18th of that month he died, having with his last consciousness said, "I give my soul to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly goods to my nearest of kin, charging them through life to remember the sufferings of Jesus Christ."

There was a firm determination on the part of the Pope and the Romans to bury the master and to retain his body in Rome. Accordingly, he was quickly interred in the church of the Holy Apostles. But Leonardo Buonarroti secretly took the body of his uncle from the grave, and in the disguise of a bale of merchandise it was conveyed to Florence.

At night, by torchlight, all the artists in the city attended the body to the church of Santa Croce, where many thousands followed and gazed upon the face of the master, which appeared as in a restful sleep. A few days later splendid memorial services were held in S. Lorenzo, which was filled with pictures and statues placed about the magnificent cata-

falque, fifty-four feet high. The Duke and his court, the academicians, artists, and all the eminent men of Florence, as well as many from other parts of Italy, were present, and after the mass listened to Varchi's funeral oration. The shops of Florence were closed, and immense crowds surrounded the church.

In spite of the simplicity with which Michael Angelo lived, one can but believe that this funeral, which he so justly merited, would have been such as he would have wished, coming, as it did, as a spontaneous tribute to his character and achievements. In life he brooked no disrespect, and was quick to resent it, as when he wrote, "Tell the priest not to address 'Michael Angelo, Sculptor,' for I am known only as Michael Angelo Buonarroti: if a Florentine citizen wishes to have a picture painted for an altar, let him find a painter, for I never was painter nor sculptor, as those who make merchandise of it."

The Westminster Abbey, or most honoured tomb of Italy, is Santa Croce; and there, near the graves of Dante, Alfieri, Galileo, Cherubini, Macchiavelli, and other illustrious Italians, sleep the mortal remains of "that most holy old man who was the light of our arts."

Taine says of this great master: —

"There are four men in the world of art and of literature exalted above all others, and to such a degree as to seem to belong to another race; namely, Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven, and Michael Angelo." . . . In the Sistine Chapel — "we cease to feel the abuse of art, the aim at effect, the domination of mannerism: we only see the disciple of Dante, the friend of Savonarola, the recluse feeding himself on the menaces of the Old Testament, the patriot, the stoic, the lover of justice, who bears in his heart the grief of his people, and who attends the funeral of Italian liberty; one who, amidst degraded character and degenerate minds, alone survives and daily becomes sadder, his soul filled with thoughts of the Supreme Judge, and listening beforehand to the thunders of the Last Day."

Michael Angelo and Titian met in Rome and visited each other in a friendly way, when, in 1545, the Venetian was there to paint the portraits of the Farnese Pope, Paul III., and the princes of his family. Michael Angelo could not express his admiration for Titian's colouring too warmly, but he lamented that his drawing was not better.

When Titian's portrait of the Pope was finished, it was placed in the open air to dry, and Grimm relates that the

THE ANGELS WITH ABRAHAM. FRESCO BY RAPHAEL ON THE CEILING OF THE LOGGIE.

Romans who passed, believing that they saw the Pope himself, saluted him. Titian was not well received in Rome; it was suspected by other artists that he wished to secure works which were then impending, and some of them actually hated the great Venetian, who did not tarry too long and never returned.

There could scarcely be a greater contrast in personal appearance and in character between two men of the same nation and the same profession than existed between Michael Angelo Buonarroti and Raphael Sanzio da Urbino, who in his short life of thirty-seven years achieved a fame excelled by none. Michael Angelo was sixty-seven years old, Titian past seventy, and Murillo more than fifty, when their best work was done; and in certain directions they were each excelled by this younger genius, apparently the favoured of all the gods.

It is with Raphael in Rome that we are concerned, to which city he was summoned by Pope Julius II. in 1508, when twenty-five years old. Among the other great projects of Julius was that of making the Palace of the Vatican a glorious centre of the world, where the Pope, with his prelates and nobles, should live; to which ambassadors and all distinguished persons should come; where the offices in which the affairs of the papacy were administered should be situated, and the archives of the universal Church brought together.

Several artists had been employed on the decoration of some of the stanze of the great palace before Raphael was commissioned to paint his frescoes in that called *La Segnatura*, the first which he decorated, — the hall of which Ruskin says that he "wrote upon the walls the *Mene*, *Tekel*, *Upharsin*, of the art of Christianity. And from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation." But many of us do not see with Mr. Ruskin's eyes, nor think with him that all art perished when the modern world began.

The Stanza della Segnatura — Room of the Signing of the Papal Letters — has, on the first of its four walls, the "Theology," also called the "Disputà" and "The Triumph of Faith;" on the second, "The School of Athens;" on the third the "Parnassus," with "Jurisprudence" on the last. When the Pope saw these frescoes, he desired that

Raphael should do the entire work in the four halls now known as the Stanze of Raphael; and to this end Julius commanded the destruction of the pictures already there. But of these Raphael preserved an entire ceiling done by his master, Perugino, some small pictures by Il Sodoma, etc., and in these halls are works of other artists which will be mentioned later. The four walls of the Stanza della Segnatura were painted by Raphael's own hand and occupied three years.

The Stanza d' Eliodoro, — Heliodorus, — occupying two years, was principally his work as well; the ceiling has scenes from the Old Testament; and the intention of all the pictures in this hall is the illustration of the divine care of the Church and its final triumph. The large pictures on the walls are "The Miraculous Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple at Jerusalem," "The Miracle of Bolsena," "Attila Repulsed from Rome by Pope Leo I.," and "The Deliverance of Saint Peter."

The Stanza dell' Incendio, begun in 1514, was finished three years later, and was largely painted by the pupils and assistants of Raphael after his designs. The subjects here are "The Oath of Leo III.," painted by Pierino della Vaga; "The Coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III.;" "The Burning of the Borgo;" and "The Victory of Leo IV. over the Saracens."

The Sala of Constantine was not painted until after Raphael died. He had made the drawings and begun to paint the pictures in oils; but they were completed in fresco. The subjects are "The Battle of Constantine at the Ponte Molle," by Giulio Romano; "Constantine Addressing his Army," same artist; "Constantine's Donation of Rome to the Pope;" and "The Baptism of Constantine by Saint Sylvester." The decoration of the stanze was in progress during the twelve years which Raphael spent in Rome, and was not completed until four years after his death.

ORNAMENT FROM THE LOGGIE.

The Loggie of the Vatican, the erection of which was completed by Raphael, were only partly decorated from designs by this master. These loggie form an open arcade of three stories in height around three sides of the Court of S. Damasus. In the middle story, which was the passage to the Pope's apartments, there are thirteen arcades, and here are the pictures known as "Raphael's Bible," painted from his designs, by Giulio Romano and others of his best pupils. For the further decoration of this loggia Raphael brought from Florence an engraver of gems, — Giovanni Barile, who carved the woodwork, and Luca della Robbia the Younger, who paved the floor with enamelled tiles on which were the Papal Arms and other designs; and various artificers were employed until nothing more could be thought of for its improvement. The subjects painted in these arcades are from the Old Testament; and Raphael intended to have represented, in the other stories of the loggie, scenes from the New Testament and from the Lives of the Saints.

Besides the paintings these loggie are ornamented with grotesques and bas-reliefs in stucco, and painted arabesques, executed by Giovanni da Udine, — a favourite pupil of the master, who was skilful in depicting birds, animals, fruits, and flowers. It is said that on one of the excursions that these two artists were accustomed to make together they visited the Baths of Titus, where the then newly discovered paintings, fresh and beautiful, suggested this decoration of the arcades. These works in the

Vatican, which have done so much to establish the fame of Raphael in their particular province of painting, were in reality but the background of what he accomplished after he went to Rome. Although I have seen almost every work of his remaining, and have been again and again overpowered by the sense of his vast achievements in his brief life, yet as I review my notes and think of writing from them, I feel almost as if the truth, however carefully told, is almost beyond belief; above all, when I remember what he had achieved before he saw Rome.

I have not space to give the detail of the works of these Roman years, but will try to mention the most famous. Even while executing, unassisted, the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura, he was also engaged on easel pictures. The splendid portrait of Julius II., in the Pitti Gallery, is one of these; the portrait of the Marquis of Mantua, now in England; that of Raphael's mistress, La Fornarina, in the Barberini Gallery; the Alban Madonna, in the Hermitage, for which the Emperor of Russia paid seventy thousand dollars; the Aldobrandini Madonna, in London, and the Madonna da Foligno; the Madonna dell' Impanata in the Pitti Palace; the Holy Family of Naples; a Madonna with Jesus Standing, belonging to the Baroness Burdett-Coutts; the Madonna of the Bridgewater Gallery; and a portrait of Bindo Altoviti, — are all attributed to the first four years that Raphael spent in Rome, when one would suppose that his important work at the Vatican would have demanded all his capacity for labour. The last portrait mentioned is sometimes called the finest piece of colour of all his pictures, and the most nearly approaching the best colour of Titian. Another beautiful portrait of a lady, in the tribune of the Uffizi at Florence, is also attributed to 1512.

Raphael had the power of analysing the works of other artists and appropriating such elements as he desired. He had applied this process to the pictures of Masaccio, Fra

Bartolommeo, and Leonardo, without doubt, and when he saw the frescoes of Michael Angelo, he repeated this experiment. When John Gorzius desired him to paint a picture of the prophet Isaiah, he readily complied; but after seeing the Sistine ceiling, he rubbed it out on account of its weakness, and painted it the second time in the manner of Michael Angelo. Gorzius was displeased at Raphael's price, and consulted Michael Angelo about it, who replied, "The knee alone is worth the sum that Raphael demands."

In 1812 the first stanza was completed; and in the winter of that year he painted the Madonna del Pesce, which is by some critics considered as equal in artistic merit to the Sistine Madonna, with even more expression in its figures. This exquisite picture is in Madrid, with eight or nine other fine works by Raphael.

In the second stanza are two pictures, — the "Expulsion of Heliodorus" and the "Mass of Bolsena," which have been preferred before any other frescoes existing for their colour, and are frequently cited when the status of Raphael as a colourist is in question. This hall was decorated in 1513–14; and in February of the first year, Pope Julius II., to whom we owe so large a debt for the magnificent works that he caused to be executed, died. In the course of a long and heroic life he had endeared himself to those who could appreciate his power to do, and to make others do, such things as make for the glory of Church and State.

He was succeeded by Leo X., a brilliant and generous patron of everything that could add to the literary and artistic fame of Rome. He was a worthy successor of Lorenzo de' Medici in many ways, and his palace had been a favourite place of assemblage for authors long before he became Pope. In his high-bred courtesy of manner, his refined taste, and his learning, he was a worthy Medici, while his liberality and extravagance were fully up to the standard of that princely house. Under his rule the

GROTESQUE FROM THE DECORATION OF THE LOGGIE.

study of the classics became a sort of madness. If we may rely upon all that is told us of that period in Rome, the deities of the pagans, the sibyls, and the ancient philosophers must have been clearly separated in the minds of men from the prophets of the Old Testament, and the Saviour and disciples of the New, only after considerable difficulty, and as the result of a determined search for truth. So fascinating is this epoch that it is difficult not to write of what does not here concern us.

It goes without saying that Raphael was welcomed by Leo; and as the charming young artist was already quite at home in the court, the new ruler made little change in his life, which was so filled with his art and his personal interests as to leave him little leisure for such discussions as were in vogue in high places, — even the immortality of the soul being one of the points upon which these learned and speculative Romans were not agreed.

It was in 1513 that Fra Bartolommeo went to Rome and was most hospitably welcomed by Raphael, whose works, as well as those of Michael Angelo, appeared like miracles to the grand old monk. While in Rome, the Saints Peter and Paul, now in the Quirinal Palace, were begun by Fra Bartolommeo; but as his health suffered in Rome, he returned to Florence, and Raphael finished the pictures, with which a curious story is associated. It runs that two cardinals visited the studio while Raphael was at work on these figures, and objected to the redness on the faces of the Apostles, to which the painter replied that he had deliberated long upon this colour, and had decided on this florid tone because he believed that the Saints Peter and Paul must blush in heaven as deeply as in his pictures when they saw the Church governed by such men as these same cardinals.

A most delightful friendship existed between Raphael and the older artist, who had first met in Florence, not long

after Savonarola's death, and before Fra Bartolommeo had resumed his interest in his art, or, indeed, in any phase of life. Raphael, then but twenty-one, in his sweetness of manner, drew the thoughts of the monk again to his painting, and they exchanged gifts of knowledge with each other; Raphael studying drapery and methods of colouring with the monk, while he imparted his theories and practice in the matter of perspective. Fra Bartolommeo was the first painter who used lay figures in painting drapery. The examination of the works of the two painters proves that each of them did more artistic work from this time.

While in Rome, the monk seemed overcome and stupefied by what he saw, and attempted nothing save the picture of the saints above mentioned. Indeed, it had been said that he could do nothing grand; but this was proved to be false by the Saint Mark, now in the Pitti Palace, which he painted after his return from Rome, and may justly be considered as the result of his visit there. This work, in its simplicity and grandeur, has been favourably compared with the remains of Grecian art.

In this eventful year Leonardo da Vinci visited Rome, having five pupils in his train. Raphael received him graciously, as one from whom he had learned much; but there was a sentiment of jealousy and dislike of Leonardo in the artistic colony of Rome, as it was suspected that he had come, bringing his assistants, with the intention of obtaining some important commission from the Pope. But nothing of the kind occurred; and when it was known that Michael Angelo was about to return, Leonardo went away, there being a hostile feeling between these two great masters.

In 1514, Raphael painted his Sibyls above the Chigi Chapel in the church of S. Maria della Pace. These are universally considered as among his best frescoes, and in relation to these Michael Angelo again proved his honour-

able character. There are four Sibyls, executed with grace and delicacy, delightfully in contrast with the splendidly grand and imposing Sibyls of the Sistine, each conception being perfect in its way. An advance of a hundred scudi had been made to Raphael, and when he asked for a further sum, the treasurer of Chigi objected to paying it. Raphael then desired that an expert should appraise the work, and Michael Angelo was called in, supposing that jealousy would prevent his placing a high value on the paintings. But, as he gazed upon the figures, he said, "That head alone is worth a hundred scudi, and the others are worth as much." Hearing this, Chigi directed his treasurer to "go and pay this sum named to Raphael for his heads; and be extremely courteous to him, so that he shall be content; for if he should wish me to pay for the drapery also, we shall be ruined!"

Chigi does not appear, however, to undervalue the works of Raphael, since the Galatea was executed in his palace in the same year. It was of this picture that Raphael was thinking when he wrote, "To paint a truly beautiful figure, it is needful to see many beautiful forms. But beautiful women and good judges of pictures being rare, I avail myself of certain thoughts that occur to me."

In 1513–14, Raphael painted several famous portraits, some of which were entirely destroyed; as, for example, two of Giuliano de' Medici, of which we have copies. That of Cardinal Bibiena is now in Madrid; Raphael willed it to Count Castiglione, whose own likeness is in the Louvre, and is a fine specimen of the wonderful portraits by this master.

In 1513 Raphael also received the commission for the beautiful Saint Cecilia now in the gallery of Bologna; it was finished in 1517, and is well described by Nagler when he says, "It is full of calm devotion, like the solemn, long-drawn tones of old church melodies." At very nearly the

same period the Vision of Ezekiel, now in the Pitti Gallery, and a Nativity which was famous for its beauty, and is lost, were painted.

In 1514 Raphael was appointed to succeed Bramante, who had requested this, as pontifical architect. The letter of appointment was most flattering, and ended thus: "Let your efforts correspond to our hope in you, to our paternal benevolence towards you, and lastly to the dignity and fame of that temple, even the greatest in the whole world and most holy; and to our devotion to the Prince of the Apostles." Concerning this, Raphael wrote to a friend: "Our Holy Father has laid a great burden on my shoulders, in making me superintendent of the building of S. Peter's. I hope, indeed, that I shall not sink under it. . . . I would fain revive the beautiful forms of the buildings of antiquity, but I know not whether the fate of Icarus is before me."

However, he had no opportunity to test himself, as the war with Urbino and other large expenses left no money to devote to this church. The strengthening of the columns on which the dome was to rest was essentially all that Raphael did at S. Peter's. In 1514 he executed, however, a number of architectural works, the portico to the ancient church on the Cœlian, S. Maria della Navicella, being one of these; and besides making plans for four private palaces and several houses, he completed the loggie in the Court of S. Damasus, at the Vatican, famous as one of the most beautiful courts in the world. The buildings which he designed were picturesque and rich, sometimes even massive, as well as harmonious in arrangement.

Through Raphael's influence the Pope published a brief, ordering all the hewn stone and marble discovered within ten miles of Rome to be submitted to Raphael's inspection; by this means large quantities of material were secured for the papal works, and many fragments preserved that would otherwise have been destroyed.

The personal interest which Raphael took in sculpture is assigned to this period of his life, when he made the statue of Jonah for the Chigi Chapel, and modelled one of Elias; besides these he modelled some less serious subjects, which are now lost.

We must not forget that with all this variety of interests and works on hand, — besides which he painted many portraits and easel pictures, — it was a proposition of his own, in 1515, that a series of tapestries should be made for the decoration of the Sistine Chapel, on high festivals. The Pope approving, Raphael made those wonderful cartoons illustrating the lives of the Apostles. The tapestries made from these designs now in the Vatican have had an adventurous history which we cannot give here, and of the cartoons which were actually the work of the master, seven are in the South Kensington Museum, London. At least four duplicate sets of these tapestries were made at Arras, some of which are now seen in Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna.

From 1516 Raphael was obliged to decline a great number of the orders which were showered upon him from various countries; but he still accomplished what seems like the work of ten men, and the numbers of finished pictures, drawings, and sketches which he left at his death are simply marvellous; as must be admitted when we remember that seven hundred and seventy-two of his original drawings are in public collections, while many others are in private hands.

He also devoted much time to his pupils, who were passionately fond of him. So many were they and so strong was his influence over them that he was quite justified in his ambition to found a Roman School of Painting. In fact, may we not say that he did found such a school, when we consider the number and excellence of the pupils? But in 1520, the year of the master's death, Adrian VI. became Pope, and gave no countenance to art; in fact, was an iconoclast in his austerity. In 1522, Rome was desolated by pestilence;

SAINT PETRONILLA. BY GUERCINO.

and before she had time to recover herself, the sack of Rome occurred in 1527, and was followed by a long period of a wretched paralysis of everything that was not an absolute necessity to existence. Meantime, art could not raise its head, and the pupils of Raphael sought avenues for their profession in more favoured cities.

The Madonna della Sedia, in the Pitti Palace, the Madonna della Tenda, in the Munich Gallery, and the Madonna with the Candelabra, in London, are all dated in 1516; in the following year, when he was relieved of some of his official labours, he painted the Christ Bearing his Cross, the Madonna of the Pearl, the Madonna of the Rose, and the Visitation, all in the Madrid Gallery.

At this time Raphael was also deeply engaged in making careful drawings and reports to the Pope on architectural and antiquarian remains; he patiently traced the plan of ancient Rome from the works of the Latin authors, and himself wrote a book on art-subjects with carefully collected historical notes. This book has disappeared.

In 1518 he was not occupied with the works at the Vatican, and devoted himself to five portraits, the large frescoes in the Chigi Palace, and religious pictures, among which were the Saint Michael, the Large Holy Family of the Louvre, — these two being mostly painted from Raphael's designs by Giulio Romano, and retouched by the master; the same is probably true of the Saint Margaret, and the Small Holy Family of the Louvre. Cupid and Psyche belongs to this year, but was not finished until 1519; as does also Saint John in the Desert, in the Uffizi Gallery. There is no doubt that, during all his life in Rome, the pupils of this master did a large amount of painting from his design; but it is not reasonable to believe that he did not finish his works with his own hand.

The five portraits of 1518 were those of the Pope and two cardinals; of Joanna of Arragon; Lorenzo de' Medici;

that known as the Violin-player; and the Fornarina, now in the Pitti Palace.

But the *chef d'œuvre* of this fruitful year and as some believe, that of his life, was the Sistine Madonna. Language has been exhausted in its praise, and more than any other work of his has this won for him the title of the "Divine Raphael." It is the most glorious picture in the north of Europe, without question.

The Sistine Madonna is thus named from the representation of Saint Sixtus in the lower part of the picture. It is said to have been originally painted for the monks of Piacenza, for a *drappellone*, or procession standard, but it also made the chief altar-piece in their church until 1753, when it was purchased for the Dresden gallery for forty thousand scudi. Spiritual and even sublime as this work is, it is also full of tender simplicity.

The portrait of Leo X. is also considered the best work in portraiture which Raphael executed. It includes two cardinals also, Giulio de' Medici, later Pope Clement VII., and Leo's constant companion, the Cardinal Lodovico de' Rossi. The Pope is seated before a table on which rests a richly illuminated book, and in one hand he holds a magnifying-glass to aid in the examination of the miniatures. The cardinals are on the sides.

The portrait of the Fornarina is extremely interesting, as it shows the development of this woman in the ten years since Raphael had first made a likeness of her. It would be a great pleasure to see that of the Barberini Gallery beside this later one of the Pitti. Some critics doubt their representing the same person, and some see in the Sistine Madonna an idealised and spiritual portrait of La Fornarina.

At about this time there were whispers that the work of Raphael had deteriorated. He heard this, and was greatly disturbed. He resolved to do with his own hands something that should prove that he had gained in his art, even if so

much had been forced on him that he had been obliged t suffer through the portions which his pupils had executed. H was not strong, but probably did not anticipate when h began the Transfiguration that he was executing the pictur which was to hang above his coffin, all unfinished, an be borne in the procession that would attend his body t the Pantheon.

In this last year of his life he was also occupied in th decoration of the fourth stanza, that of Constantine, two ca toons for the frescoes being entirely executed by Raphael these are the "Battle of Constantine" and "Constantine ad dressing his Army." These frescoes were well begun whe both Leo X. and Raphael died. Adrian VI. stopped th work, which was resumed under Clement VII., in 1523, b those who had assisted in the decoration of the other stanze and was completed but a short time before the sack of Rome which inaugurated a long period of inaction in art, an in truth in life itself; for during more than three centurie the wreck of the city of Julius II. and Leo X. was overcom by a profound lethargy.

Raphael was fortunate in the time at which he entere Rome. Few popes could have furnished such glorious op portunities to artists as did Julius II.; and the beginnin of the sixteenth century was one of great hopefulness an encouragement to architects, sculptors, and painters alik There was enough for all to do, and the young painter ha reached that point in his art when, in such an atmosphere, h was prepared to put forth his full strength and leap to th very best attainment of which he was capable. Wh other period or city could boast of such an artistic coi cidence as that of Michael Angelo painting in the Sistin Chapel while Raphael was decorating the Stanze of th Vatican?

The first house which Raphael occupied at Rome is th now numbered 142 Via dei Coronari, near the Ponte S. A

PORTRAIT OF CESARE BORGIA. BY RAPHAEL.

gelo, which he never sold, as in his will he left the income from it to be expended in masses for the peace of his soul. Here he received his old friends who came to Rome, among whom was his beloved master, Perugino, and here too flocked many Romans; for Raphael made friends on all sides, wherever he appeared.

In spite of the many versions that have been given of the private life of Raphael, there is little absolutely known so clearly that we can be sure of its reliability. We cannot doubt that he very early in his Roman life became attached to the woman who is said to have been named Margherita, and is more widely known as the Fornarina; and Vasari says that his attachment continued to the end of his life. We know that he gave her a considerable legacy in his will.

It is said that Abbé Cancellieri found a manuscript which related that this girl was the daughter of a baker in the Trastevere quarter, and was so beautiful that many youths watched her over the wall of her father's domain. We know that many women of the Trastevere were of exquisite beauty, both in face and form; indeed, they boasted themselves to be the only true descendants of the ancient Romans. We are told that Raphael first saw this girl when she was bathing her exquisitely delicate feet in a fountain, and fell passionately in love with her and finding on acquaintance that her mind was as charming as her person, he was only happy from that day when in her society. If she were the daughter of a baker,—*fornajo*,—her name of the Fornarina could be easily accounted for.

Raphael's infatuation is represented to have interfered with the progress of his work to such an extent that the banker Chigi, when the master was painting frescoes in his palace, installed the girl there, so that when at work she could be beside him, and henceforth the pictures advanced rapidly. After relating this circumstance, the quaint old Vasari finds it needful to tell us that Raphael "was much disposed

to the gentler affections and delighted in the society of women!"

It is but just to add that some of Raphael's biographers give no credence to the usual stories of his love-affairs.

In 1513 Raphael had become so wealthy that he decided to build a small palace for himself near the present Palazzo Accoramboni, facing the Piazza of S. Peter's. This palace, where the artist died, was destroyed in 1661, when the Piazza was enlarged. Raphael made the plans, and Bramante carried them out; the palace was completed about six years before Raphael's death, so that half his Roman years were spent there. To his uncle in Urbino, he wrote, in July, 1514, a long letter describing his life in detail, in which the following sentences occur: —

"I have already property in Rome to the value of three thousand ducats of gold, and an income of fifty ducats. Then His Holiness, our Lord, has proposed to me some works in the Church of Saint Peter, with a salary of three hundred ducats of gold, which will not fail me as long as I live. This is not all. Besides this, they will pay me for my work whatever may seem right to me. The paintings also in another hall that I have undertaken will produce twelve hundred ducats of gold. Thus, my dear uncle, I am doing honour to you, as well as to my other relations, and to my native town. I bear you continually in my heart, and when I hear you mentioned it seems as if I heard my father named. . . . I had left off speaking of my marriage, but return to it to tell you that the Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico wishes to give me one of his relations, and that with the consent of my uncle the priest, and your consent, I have placed myself at the disposal of his Lordship."

The lady in question was Maria da Bibiena, a grand-niece of the Cardinal Bibiena, spoken of by his title above. There are diverse stories about this affair and the postponement of the marriage, which is sometimes attributed to Raphael's unwillingness, and again to the delicacy of the young lady's health. It is certain, however, that the engagement existed in 1515 and two years later. At all events,

Maria da Bibiena died before Raphael, and by his will, her remains were to be placed beside his own, as his betrothed; and above the tomb of Annibale Caracci, which is next to that of Raphael in the Pantheon, is a tablet inscribed to Maria da Bibiena, which records that she was the betrothed of the great artist.

In the last years of his life Raphael had a villa in the country, and was a chamberlain to the Pope, with good hopes, we are told, of being made a cardinal. He was never robust, and had fortunately escaped the hardships which many other artists experienced, and his genius was happily and peacefully developed, while others passed through painful vicissitudes on their way to fame. It may be said, in general terms, that he escaped all hostile criticism. While not of unusual beauty, his face was flexible and changing with his sentiments; his nature, free from jealousy, was chivalrous, gentle and of charming sweetness and self-forgetfulness.

He loved Rome and could not be tempted to leave it by the munificent offers of Francis I. and the distinguished invitation of Henry VIII. that he should make one of the Court of England. By his style of living he maintained the dignity of his art. When he attended the Papal Court he was accompanied by his followers, sometimes to the number of fifty. Michael Angelo went alone, and, meeting Raphael and his attendants on one occasion, he asked, "Where go you, surrounded like a general?" to which Raphael replied with the question, "And you, alone, like the hangman?"

About a year before Raphael's death, the chief secretary of the Pope wrote the following description of the artist to Ziegler, the mathematician, and this is testimony which may be accepted with no doubts, as neither the writer nor the recipient could have had any selfish reason against having the plain truth expressed: —

"The very rich Raphael da Urbino, who is much esteemed by the Pope; he is a young man of the greatest kindness, and of an

admirable mind. He is distinguished by the highest qualities. Thus he is perhaps the first of all the painters; . . . he is an architect of such rare talent that he invents and executes things which men of the greatest genius deemed impossible. . . . He is restoring Rome in almost its ancient grandeur; for, by removing the highest accumulations of earth, digging down to the lowest foundations, and restoring everything according to the description of ancient authors, he has so carried the Pope Leo and the Romans along with him as to induce every one to look on him as a god sent from Heaven to restore the ancient city to her former majesty. With all this he is so far from being proud that he comes as a friend to every one and does not shun the words and remarks of any. He likes to have his views discussed, in order to obtain instruction and to instruct others, which he regards as the object of life."

Much as the early death of any man of genius is to be lamented, in a world where they are all too few, there is a certain satisfaction in the thought that this son of all good fortune lived to experience no change. From a glorious earthly height he was taken and saw nothing of the decadence which was so soon to follow. "Whom the gods love, die young."

Being one March day very much occupied at the Chigi Palace, he was summoned in haste by the Pope, and, arriving at the Vatican, much over-heated, he took a chill in its cold corridors. He hastened home, but no skill was equal to the cure of the fever with which he was seized, and in spite of the prayers for his life uttered by all Rome, from the Pope down, he died in eight days. Realising his condition, he made the final disposition of his property, and possessed himself in perfect tranquillity. He died on the 6th of April, which was his birthday, exactly thirty-seven years old, in the year 1520, in which Good Friday occurred on this date.

All Rome mourned for him; and thousands viewed his dead face, as he lay on a catafalque encircled by torches, while

the "Transfiguration" hung above him. So far as this work had been carried, it was entirely by his hand, and was later finished by his pupils. The figure of the Saviour, the demoniac boy, the father, the figure of Saint Andrew, and the kneeling woman in the foreground are the only portions of this great picture which can be attributed to Raphael with assurance.

The ceremonies at his burial were magnificent. It is said that when told of his death the Pope burst into a passion of tears. Raphael had chosen the place for his tomb, and had arranged that Lorenzetto should sculpture a figure of the Virgin for its decoration. His epitaph was written by Bembo, and ends with the lines: —

> "This is that Raphael by whom Nature feared to be conquered
> While he lived, and to die when he died."

After 1705 the income of the house which he devoted to masses for the rest of his soul, at first numbering twelve each month, was so much reduced that the custom was discontinued. In 1833 Raphael's tomb was opened, and his skeleton found in a perfect state. It was seen by many persons, and after five weeks it was enclosed in a leaden coffin and a marble sarcophagus, and a most impressive burial service was held in the Pantheon at night. The church was illuminated, and a procession of artists and eminent men moved around the entire space, bearing torches, while exquisite music was chanted by an invisible choir, and the burial-case was consigned to its resting-place.

Domenico Zampieri executed frescoes in Rome in the early part of the seventeenth century, and they are seen in several churches. He is best known as Domenichino, and his "Communion of Saint Jerome," in the same room with the "Transfiguration," has frequently been called second only to this last picture by Raphael.

Annibale Caracci, a friend of Domenichino, was in Rome

CUMEAN SIBYL BY DOMENICHINO.

at the same time with this artist, and for a time they lived together. Caracci, one of the Bolognese family, had studied in Palma and Venice, and was invited to Rome in 1600, when he was forty years old, by the Cardinal Farnese, for the decoration of the Farnese Palace; in this work Annibale was at first assisted by his brother Agostino, who did not long remain in the Eternal City. Annibale, however, made it his permanent home, and died there in 1609, his tomb being in the Pantheon, near that of Raphael, as mentioned above.

The Caracci may be called the founders of the eclectic school of painting, from their endeavour to select certain qualities from the work of each of the great masters. They had a creed which Agostino Caracci embodied in a sonnet, which may be thus translated: —

"Let him who wishes to be a good painter acquire the design of Rome, Venetian action and Venetian management of shade, the dignified colour of Lombardy, — which is that of Leonardo, — the terrible manner of Michael Angelo, Titian's truth and nature, the sovereign purity of Correggio's style, and the just symmetry of a Raphael, the decorum and well-grounded study of Tibaldi, the invention of the learned Primaticcio, and a little of Parmigianino's grace; but without so much study and weary labour, let him apply himself to imitate the works which our Niccolò dell' Abate left us here."

Fortunately the Caracci were too fine men and too excellent painters to follow such a creed. They became artists themselves, not pure imitators. Lodovico was most famous as a teacher; Agostino was a learned man and a celebrated engraver; Annibale was the finest painter. His works are seen in many places in Rome and in galleries all over Europe. His frescoes in the Farnese Palace were his latest important works. The parsimony of his patron was exasperating to him, and no doubt affected his health unfavourably. Annibale Caracci was one of the earliest landscape-painters, and

was doubtless an imitator of some Dutch painters, like Paul Brill, as well as of Titian; it may reasonably be said that he and some of his contemporaries prepared the way for Claude Lorraine and other famous painters of such subjects as required landscape backgrounds or were entirely of that character.

Dosso Dossi, with his brother, passed some time in Rome after the death of Raphael; and the "Circe" of the first-

VENUS AND MARS. BY ANNIBALE CARACCI.

named, in the gallery at the Borghese Villa, is perhaps his most famous work; it is full of a certain charm resulting from its freedom of action, naïveté of expression, and a pleasing individuality. Dosso excelled in portraits, and one is inclined to believe that the "Circe" is one of his best, and that he was fortunate in the model from which it was painted.

Every visitor to the Capitoline Gallery must be interested in the beautiful picture by Guercino of Saint Petronilla, whose body is being raised from the tomb that the Roman Senator Flaccus, her betrothed, may look again upon her face. Guercino is said to have been almost entirely self-taught. There is a vast difference in the quality of his works, which are very numerous and well esteemed.

Giulio Romano, — real name, Pippi, — 1492–1546, is the only artist with whom we are here concerned, who was born in Rome. He was a favourite pupil of Raphael, and inherited the master's estate with Francesco Penni. So long as Raphael lived, Giulio Romano did little original work, and his later painting is characterised by a coarseness not to be expected from one who had been trained in such a school. A frieze in the Villa Farnesina was his best fresco in Rome; the best altar-piece is that above the high altar in S. Maria dell' Anima, which has, however, been sadly injured; and, in short, this one Roman, with all his advantages, and having commended himself to Raphael as he did, is a disappointment when he is regarded as himself alone, and not shining by any reflected light.

Rome is a treasure-house, possessing exquisite art productions, the fruit of all the centuries of her existence, and even of those before her foundation, — treasures which she has had the wisdom and the good fortune to collect, and which seem so suitable to her that one simply rejoices that she has them, and forgets that the objects and the men who produced them were not all native to her soil.

And it cannot be doubted that but for Rome, — but for coming here, into a broader and fuller opportunity for the development and exercise of their powers, — these great painters of whom we have spoken could not have so grandly and majestically impressed themselves on their own day and on ours.

Only in Rome could they have executed their glorious works, which never grow old nor lose their absorbing interest and their fascination, — works which merit that greatest of all adjectives, immortal; which, when advisedly used, conveys such wonderful meaning that nothing can be added to its all-embracing praise.

THE ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

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